A Study of Tibur—Historical, Literary and Epigraphical—From the Earliest Times to the Close of the Roman Empire

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ELLA BOURNE

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I Early Tibur 5

CHAPTER II Tibur under the Roman Empire 25

CHAPTER III The Government of Tibur 42

CHAPTER IV The Cults of Tibur 57

ADDENDUM 74

BIBLIOGRAPHY 75

CHAPTER I

Early Tibur

Tibur, the modern Tivoli, stood on the edge of the Sabine hills, high above the Roman Campagna. From the earliest times the place was occupied as a stronghold, because it commanded the plain below, and because it controlled the entrance to the valley of the Anio. This situation, so important because of its strength, came in the course of time to be equally attractive because of its beauty; and the fame of the town and its surrounding hills has been unbroken down to our own day.

In comparing Tibur with Præneste, Strabo says (v. 3, 11) that both places were natural strongholds, but that Præneste had a certain advantage in the mountain height which rose above the city, to serve as a citadel. At Tibur, there was no point within the walls which greatly exceeded the rest of the town in elevation. But Præneste had nothing to correspond to the River Anio; and it is to the falls of the Anio that Tibur owes much of its fame.

Here the river bursts through the mountain barrier, and falls in cascades to the plain below. The travertine rock upon which the greater part of the city was built was formed from the deposits of the river in earlier times. Among these rocks the Anio finds its way, occasionally changing its course as some part yields to the persistent onrush of the waters.[1] We have no definite information about the height of the falls in ancient times. The present falls of that part of the river which comes through the modern tunnel ("Traforo Gregoriano") measure 354 feet—more than twice the height of the Falls of Niagara.[2] These falls were so well known that they were often mentioned, by way of comparison, in ancient descriptions or definitions.[3]

According to ancient authorities, Tibur was twenty miles from Rome, whereas in modern times the distance is given as eighteen and one-half miles. This discrepancy may perhaps be accounted for by the change in the course of the Via Tiburtina, although it is hard to see just why

Inscriptions cited from C. I. L. by number only are from Vol. XIV.

[1] Cp. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 360.

[2] The falls of the Anio now furnish the electric power for lighting Rome and for running its street cars, as well as for several factories in Tivoli itself.

[3] Suetonius (*Reiff.*), p. 244: Tulli aquarum proiectus quales sunt in Aniene flumine quam maxime præcipiti; Festus p. 353 (M.) Tullios alii dixerunt silanos, alii vehementes proiectiones sanguinis arcuatim fluentis quales sunt Tiburi in Aniene. Cp. Otto Jahn, Bull. dell'Inst., 1841, p. 12.

the difference should be so great, for the modern road follows rather closely the course of the ancient one. No milestones have been found "in situ" between Rome and Tivoli, so that it is hard to explain the ancient estimate; and the difficulty is greater because it is uncertain by which gate the old Via Tiburtina issued from Rome.[4] The Tabula Peutingeriana gives the distance from Rome to Aquae Albulae as sixteen miles, but this is usually conceded to be a mistake for fourteen (xvi for xiv), for Aquae Albulae is more than four miles from Tibur. The distance from Aquae Albulae to Tibur is not indicated on the map, but it doubtless would have been marked as vi.[5] The Antonine itinerary, under *Via Valeria*, gives the distance as twenty miles.[6] Horace uses the trip to Tibur as an example of a short journey when he speaks of the long one which he himself thinks of taking *usque Tarentum*.[7] Martial says definitely that Tibur is twenty miles from Rome.[8] We are told that Augustus took two days to go to Præneste or Tibur, since he journeyed very slowly because of his frail health.[9]

Strabo says (v. 3, 11) that Tibur, Præneste, and Tusculum are all within sight of Rome, Tibur being somewhat nearer than Præneste. In classical literature we seldom find a reference to a view of Rome from Tibur or of Tibur from Rome—a fact which at first seems strange, for the modern traveller usually cherishes the memory of that distant view of Rome from the heights of Tivoli. But we must remember that the dome of St. Peter's did not always dominate the landscape and draw all eyes to itself. The poets who speak of seeing Tibur from Rome are

[4] Cp. Papers of the British School at Rome, iii, p. 109.

[5] Martio in *Historia Tiburtina Amplicata*, vi, 173, declares that the distance to Tivoli from Rome is sixteen miles, and that the discrepancy between this number and that of the ancients is caused by a change in the system of measurements made in the time of the Lombards.

[6] Procopius was evidently confused about the exact location of Tibur. He says, *B. G.* ii, 4, 7 and 8, that Tibur is one hundred and forty stades from Rome, but in iii, 10, 23, he gives the distance as one hundred and twenty stades. The text is somewhat corrupt, but in iii, 10, 23, he seems to say that Tibur is situated near the river Tiber. Abrahamus Ortelius in his map of Italy in Bertius's *Geographia Vetus* (ed. of 1618) actually puts Tibur on the river Tiber, although he has the Villa of Hadrian correctly located in relation to the Anio. Ptolemæus, who gives Tibur next after Rome in his list of Latin cities, says that the latitude is 36° 50′ 42″. Modern measurement, however, has fixed it at 41° 57′ 41.8″.

[7] Hor. *Sat.* i, 6, 108.

[8] Mart. *Epig.* iv, 57: Tu colis Argivi regnum, Faustine, coloni, Quo te bis decimus ducit ab urbe lapis.

[9] Suet. *Aug.* 82.

probably not referring to any actual view. When Horace invites Mæcenas to visit him, he urges him to shake off the cares of state and not to stay forever gazing from a distance at well-watered Tibur (*Od.* iii, 29, 6). And Propertius (iii, 16, 3), when he receives the summons from Cynthia, who is at Tibur, speaks as if Tibur were visible from Rome:

Candidaque geminas ostendunt culmina turres.

The Via Tiburtina, which led from Rome to Tibur, was one of the most important Roman roads. The date of its construction is not known, but it was probably built after the Latin League became important and relations were established between Rome and Tibur. Like most local roads from Rome, it was named from the town to which it led. It is to be noted, however, that the Via Valeria, which was the important Roman road to the east and of which the Via Tiburtina was really the first part, never absorbed the earlier name, as was usually the case when a local road was extended into an important highway. That is to say, the Via Valeria is the only Roman road which did not begin at Rome. This was no doubt due to the fact that the Via Tiburtina had become such a famous road, and Tibur such an important place, before the Via Valeria was built that the old name was never changed. We have inscriptions which tell of seven of its curators, all men of senatorial rank.[10] In these inscriptions the road is spoken of three times as the Via Tiburtina, three times as the Viae Tiburtina et Valeria, and once as the Via Valeria.

The Anio was navigable from Tibur in classical times, and thus formed another line of communication with Rome.[11] In this way the travertine, which was such an important building material, was shipped to Rome (Strabo *l. c.*). Although the favorite adjective applied to the Anio at Tibur was *praeceps*,[12] it was a quiet river—*labens sine murmure*—by the time it reached the Tiber.[13]

The upper Anio showed the characteristics of a mountain stream, and often overflowed its banks. Even the lower and more quiet part of the river below the falls sometimes caused trouble. Pliny the Younger (*Epis.* viii, 17), who calls the river *delicatissimus* and says that it seemed to be invited and detained by the villas on its banks, describes a flood

[10] Cp. Papers of the British School at Rome, i, 127; iii, 5; 84; Bull. Com., 1891, p. 124. An additional inscription probably refers to an eighth curator.

[11] Strabo v, 3, 11; Plin. *N. H.* iii, 54.

[12] Stat. *Silv.* i, 5, 25; Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 13; Dion. Hal. v, 37; Suet. (Reiff.), p. 244.

[13] Sil. Ital. xii, 540

of the Anio and the Tiber in Trajan's reign, in which the water carried away houses, trees and cattle.

The Anio seemed to belong to Tibur. The falls were the famous part of the river, and of them everyone thought when the Anio was mentioned. For example, we find Propertius (iii, 22, 23), when he sings of the waters of Italy, saying, *Anio Tiburne*. His own Clitumnus and the Anio are the two rivers which he mentions.

There is not so much mythology concerning the Anio as might have been expected from such a beautiful stream, and one so early known. One story, probably a late name-fable, says that the first name of the river was Pareusius, but that it was changed to Anio when the Etruscan king, Annius, sorrowing over the loss of his daughter who was stolen away, threw himself into the stream.[14] The story that the river-god Anio was the son of Apollo doubtless arose from the fame of the oracles of Faunus.[15] The story of Rhea Silvia's marriage to the Anio is told by Ovid (*Am.* iii, 6, 49 ff.). Porphyrion on Horace[16] alludes to the confusion of this story with the other that Ilia had been married to the Tiber. It seems very probable that the confusion arose from the similarity of the names connected with the two rivers.[17] The early name of the Tiber was Albula, which corresponds closely to Aquae Albulae and Albunea of the Anio; and Tiburtus, easily confused with Tiber, was sometimes given as the name of the river-god Anio.

The name of the city was always Tibur for the Latins; the Greek writers adapted the word in various ways to their own language. The adjective used substantively to denote an inhabitant of Tibur was either Tiburs or Tiburnus, the former being earlier and always more common. Inscriptions in which the senate and people are named always give Tiburs as the form; and Varro gives this form only.[18] Stephanus Byzantinus[19] says that Tibur was formerly called Polystephanos—a name which

[14] Alexander Polyhistor, Mueller *F. H. G.* iii, p. 230.

[15] *Geographi Latini Minores*, p. 146; Preller, *Roem. Myth.* ii, p. 139.

[16] Porphyr. *Hor. Od.* i, 2, 17 and 18; Ilia, auctore Ennio, in amnem Tiberim iussu Amulii regis Albanorum præcipitata. Antea enim Anieni matrimonio iuncta est, atque hic loquitur, quasi Tiberi potius nupserit. Cp. Ennius *Ann.* i, 54-58 (Vahlens); cp., also, Servius *Æn.* i, 273; Remus et Romus: quos cum matre Amulius præcipitari iussit in Tiberim tum ut quidam dicunt Iliam sibi Anien fecit uxorem, ut alii, inter quos Horatius, Tiberis.

[17] Thus Steuding, *Roscher's Lexikon*, under *Anio*.

[18] Varro, *De Lingua Latina* viii, 53; ix, 34; cp. *C. I. L.* xiv, p. 365.

[19] Steph. Byz. p. 415, 21. Cp. Mueller *F. H. G.* iii, p. 633, who evidently saw that the name was applied to Tibur in mistake for Præneste. Cp., also, Martio, *Historia Tiburtina Amplificata* ii, 40.

is mentioned by no other ancient writer. Strabo (v, 3, 11) says this name was once given to Præneste; its use as applied to Tibur probably came because of some confusion of the two towns.

The history of Tibur goes back to very old traditions. The main authority on the founding of the town is a passage in Solinus,[20] where there are two accounts—one resting on the authority of Cato, the other on that of a certain Sextius, who is otherwise unknown. According to Cato, Tibur was founded by Catillus, an Arcadian and prefect of the fleet of Evander. According to Sextius, Catillus was an Argive, son of Amphiaraus, who after the death of his father in the war of the Seven against Thebes, was sent out by order of his grandfather Oecleus, as a part of a *ver sacrum*, and having arrived in Italy, he became the father of three sons—Tiburtus, Coras and Catillus. These three brothers drove out the Sicani from the old city of Sicilia, and called the town Tibur after the name of the eldest.

Many writers on Tibur[21] have freely combined these two accounts, saying that Catillus was an Argive, son of Amphiaraus, and was leaving his fatherland at the same time that Evander the Arcadian was starting out, and that Catillus was made prefect of the fleet of Evander—the two adventurers thus joining forces. There is, however, nothing in the passage from Solinus to justify such a combination of the two distinct accounts, which agree only in the name Catillus. Cato makes Catillus himself the founder, and Sextius says that the three sons of Catillus were the founders.

It is often not clear from the words used by Latin writers which form of the tradition they follow. We find the adjectives Argivus,[22] Argeus,[23] and Argolicus[24] applied to the founder of Tibur. Dessau takes

[20] ii, 7-8. Cato, *Origines* ii. fr. 56 (Peter) Tibur, sicut Cato facit testimonium, a Catillo Arcade præfecto classis Evandri; sicut Sextius, ab Argiva iuventute. Catillus enim Amphiarai filius post prodigialem patris apud Thebas interitum, Oeclei avi iussu cum omni fetu ver sacrum missus tres liberos in Italia procreavit, Tiburtum, Coram, Catillum, qui depulsis ex oppido Siciliæ veteribus Sicanis a nomine Tiburti fratris natu maximi urbem vocaverunt.

[21] Bormann, *Altlatin. Chorogr.* p. 233; De Vit, *Onomast.*, under *Catillus*; Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, Lettera xix, p. 426; Martio, *Historie Tiburtine* i, p. 19; Viola, *Storia di Tivoli* i, p. 157. Nibby in *Viaggo Antiquario* i, ix, p. 139, ignores the Cato tradition, but in *Analisi* iii, p. 163 ff., carefully distinguishes between the two accounts.

[22] Mart. *Epig.* iv, 57: Argivi regnum coloni; Verg. *Æn.* vii, 672: Argiva iuventus.

[23] Ovid *Am.* iii, 6, 46: Tiburis Argei pomifera arva; Hor. *Od.* ii, 6, 5: Tibur Argeo positum colono.

[24] Ovid *Fasti* iv, 71: Moenia Tiburis udi stabant Argolicae quod posuere manus.

the passages in which these adjectives are used as referring back to the Sextius form of the tradition, and says that Vergil, Horace and Ovid all follow Sextius.[25] The common poetic use of these adjectives with the meaning "Grecian" seems to make such an interpretation improbable. They are, of course, more accurately applied to an Argive than to an Arcadian, but a poet might use them as referring to either one.

It seems almost equally impossible to be sure, as Peter is,[26] that the references to Catillus the founder of Tibur are to the Catillus mentioned by Cato as the prefect of the fleet of Evander. Catillus, the father of the three sons, might be spoken of by the poets as the founder, even though his sons, and not he, according to the tradition, were its founders. In any event, we have Catillus mentioned, as if he were the founder of Tibur, twice in Silius Italicus,[27] once in Statius,[28] and once in Horace.[29] Horace illustrates well the impossibility of deciding which form of the tradition the poets follow: for in one place he says *Moenia Catili*, and in another place *Tibur Argeo positum colono*.

Servius[30] makes an interesting comment, when he says that Catillus gave his name to the *mons Catilli*, a name which had been corrupted in Servius' time to *Catelli*. Evidently the corruption did not continue, for the mountain is now called Catillo.[31]

The Sextius tradition has some variations. Instead of it being Catillus, later the father of three sons, who came into Italy, the three brothers—Tiburtus, Catillus, and Coras—came, and there is no mention at all of their father. Vergil says[32] that Catillus and Coras, the twin brothers, came from Tibur to join in the war against Æneas, and adds that their race was named from their brother Tiburtus. This passage Servius[33] explains by saying that the three brothers—Catillus, Coras, and

[25] *C. I. L.*, p. 365 and note 12.

[26] Roscher, *Lexikon* under *Catillus*.

[27] Sil. It. viii, 364: Hinc Tibur, Catille, tuum; iv, 225: Pomifera arva . . . Anienicolae Catilli.

[28] Stat. *Silv.* i, 3, 99: Hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys et iuvat ipsum Alciden dictumque lyra maiore Catillum.

[29] Hor. *Od.* i, 18, 2: Moenia Catili.

[30] Serv. *Æn.* vii, 672: Catillus unde mons Catilli, quem Catelli dicunt per corruptionem iuxta Tibur.

[31] Marcianus Capella vi, 642, gives the Cato form of the tradition. He evidently quoted direct from Solinus.

[32] *Æn.* vii, 670: Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt, Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem Catillusque acerque Coras, Argiva iuventus.

[33] Serv. *Æn.* vii, 670.

Tibur, or Tiburnus—came from Greece, and although they separately founded other cities, they all together founded one, and called it Tibur from the name of the eldest brother. At this time, he adds, two of the brothers went to war, and left Tibur or Tiburnus to guard the state. Here Vergil omits at least any mention of the father, and Servius states definitely that the brothers themselves came from Greece. With this passage of the *Æneid* Porphyrion agrees.[34]

The second variation from the tradition founded on the account attributed by Solinus to Sextius is in regard to the previous inhabitants of the locality of Tibur. Sextius says that the Sicani were driven out. Vergil seems to agree with this: *Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae.*[35] On the other hand, Dionysius of Halicarnassus i, 16, says that the Aborigines drove out the Siculi from this part of Italy, and the Tiburtini who succeeded the Aborigines called a certain part of the city Sicilion from its old inhabitants.[36]

Pliny (*N. H.* XVI, 237) bears witness to the great age of Tibur, as well as to the venerable age of its trees, when he says that three oaks were still standing in his time under which Tiburnus, the founder of the city, took his oath of office. He gives us still another variation of the tradition, for he makes the founder, Tiburnus, son of Amphiaraus. He adds that the death of Amphiaraus occurred one generation before the Trojan war.[37]

The part which the Tiburtines took in the war of Turnus against the Trojans is often mentioned in the *Æneid*. When Juno causes the Latins to renew the war against Æneas, five mighty cities joined the forces of the Latins, one of which Vergil names *Tibur superbum.*[38] The adjective *superbum* is usually supposed to refer to the lofty location of Tibur, but Servius explains it quite differently. He says that on one occasion the Tiburtines asked aid from the Romans, and at the same time reminded

[34] Porphyr. *Hor. Od.* i, 7, 13: Tiburnus conditor Tiburis est, cuius fratres Catillus et Coras quorum Verg. meminit.

[35] *Æn.* viii, 328.

[36] The relation between the Sicani and the Siculi is a vexed question. It has been discussed in other places, and will not be taken up here. See Forbiger's note on *Æn.* viii, 328; Serv. *Æn.* xi, 317.

[37] The very definite dates which many early Italian writers on the history of Tivoli have given for the founding of the town are usually based on this statement of Pliny, and an assumed date for the Trojan war. Cp. Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, p. 429, for a table of dates.

[38] *Æn.* vii, 629: Quinque adeo magnæ positis incudibus urbes Tela novant, Atina potens Tiburque superbum Ardea Crustumerique et turrigerae Antemnae.

them of kindnesses which they had received from the Tiburtines. The only reply vouchsafed by the Romans was *Superbi*[39] *estis*.

When the forces of the Latins are reviewed by the poet, the Tiburtines form a prominent part of the army:

> Then came twin brethren, leaving Tibur's keep
> (Named from Tiburtus, brother of them twain)
> Catillus and impetuous Coras, youth
> Of Argive seed, who foremost in the van
> Pressed ever, where the foemen densest throng:
> As when two centaurs, children of the cloud,
> From mountain-tops descend in swift career,
> The snows of Homole and Othrys leaving,
> While crashing thickets in their pathway fall.[40]

Later, when the army of Æneas is besieged by the Rutuli, and Euryalus and Nisus make their bold attempt to cut a way through, among the spoils which Euryalus seizes were some remarkable trappings of Rhamnes which had once belonged to the Tiburtine Remulus.[41] No explanation is offered by Vergil as to the relation which existed between this seemingly early and distinguished Tiburtine and the three brothers. At one time Turnus gives orders to the Tiburtines in regard to their part in a battle;[42] at another time he promises Camilla that she shall have the forces from Tibur under her command.[43] The bravery of the Tiburtine Catillus is emphasized by a conflict in which he slays two opponents.[44] Venulus, another leader from Tibur, is less fortunate, for he is borne off from the ranks of his countrymen by one of the opposing force.[45] It is plain that among "the chivalry of Italy" Vergil gives the Tiburtines a prominent place.

There is a late and entirely different account of the founding of Tibur given by Diodorus Siculus, and the author of Origo Gentis Romanæ. In their desire to give a Latin rather than a Greek origin to the town,

[39] For a late use of the adjective *superbum* applied to Tibur, evidently quoted from the *Æneid*, see *Symm. Epis.* vii, 15 . . . si te superbum Tibur explevit.

[40] *Æn.* vii, 670-677; trans. by Williams. Preller, *Roem. Mythol.* ii, p. 342, notices that the idea of twins, as in the Romulus and Remus legend at Rome, is found also in other Latin States; at Tibur in the legend of Cora and Catillus, *gemini fratres*, and at Præneste. Cp. Serv. *Æn.* vii, 678.

[41] *Æn.* ix, 359 ff.

[42] *Æn.* xi, 465: Et cum fratre, Coras, latis diffundite campis.

[43] *Æn.* xi, 519.

[44] *Æn.* xi, 640 ff.

[45] *Æn.* xi, 757 ff.; cp. *Æn.* viii, 9 ff.

they turn away from the whole tradition of the settlement from Greece, and state that Tibur was founded by Latinus Silvius.[46] This story, however, never gained favor with the poets, or weakened in any way the other tradition. Vergil, who was probably interested more than any other poet in glorifying Rome, has no thought of changing the tradition of Tibur's early origin in an attempt to make her secondary to Rome.

It can at least be gathered from the early traditions of Tibur that the town was of very great antiquity. It is practically certain that during the period when Rome was establishing her power on the Tiber, Tibur and other communities, such as Præneste, were also laying the foundation of their power and enlarging their territory. The extent, however, of the territory of Tibur cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. We know that it possessed outlying fortresses and dependent cities, such as Empulum and Sassula, which it lost in later wars with Rome; but the location of these towns is not known.

Ashby,[47] who has made a careful and exhaustive study of the ruins in the Roman Campagna, tells us that "On the east extremity of Colle Turrita (which lies to the north of Tibur about two and one-half miles) are the remains of a mediæval castle. The walls of this are built in places upon walls of Cyclopean work which from their character and position appear to belong to a system of fortifications; so that this was probably a small fortified outpost of Tibur in early times, to which however no name can be given. It is a very noticeable fact that the ancient road from Tivoli leads up to this point and then ends abruptly."

"Aefula was another such outpost on the south, and Varia (Vicovaro) on the northeast, guarding the road up the Anio valley, while Empulum and the site now occupied by the village of Ciciliano were the outlying fortresses on the east, commanding the road which ran into the country of the Hernici, Ciciliano occupying an exceedingly strong position."

"These outlying fortresses, all of them in communication with Tibur by roads, show the strength of this city in the days of her independence, and the extent of her territory."[48]

[46] Diodorus Siculus vii, 5, 9; Origo Gentis Romanæ 17, 6.

[47] Papers of the British School at Rome iii, p. 172 ff.

[48] L. Bucciarelli in *Rend. Acc. Lincei* xxi (1912), pp. 125-144, discusses the supposed site of Æfula and the roads which connected it with the Via Tiburtina and the Via Prænestina. He accounts for the slight mention of the place in Latin literature by supposing that after 337 B.C. the relations between Rome and Tibur were more friendly than they had been previously and there was, therefore, no use made of the fort at Æfula.

The evidence of inscriptions as to the boundary of Tibur's domains does not extend back to the early time of the town, or to the period of its greatest power. The locations of the two towns which history tells us were taken from Tibur by Rome in the middle of the fourth century B. C. are unknown. Therefore, there are left only such pieces of evidence as Ashby has been able to gather from the nature and position of existing remains of roads and strongholds, and such inferences as we are justified in making from the important part which Tibur played in the affairs of Latium, and the deductions which may be drawn from its location. In the days when Præneste ruled eight cities,[49] Tibur, her closest ally and friend, doubtless had a territory of somewhat similar, if not equal, importance. Præneste and Tibur are the two strongest of the Latin towns, and are repeatedly coupled in history and in literature.

Tacitus refers to Nero's villa at Sublaqueum (Subiaco) as being in Tiburtine territory.[50] It would perhaps not be fair to take this one statement, although it is not a careless statement made by a careless historian, as decisive proof that Tibur's power extended so far to the southeast. However, it seems not improbable, because the mountain ranges form a barrier between Sublaqueum and Præneste, which is the only other powerful state in this vicinity, whereas the valley of the Anio leads easily from Tibur to the region of Sublaqueum. The arguments against including Sublaqueum in the territory of Tibur are two, both seemingly of some weight. First, Varia, which is between Tibur and Sublaqueum, probably had its own government under the early empire;[51] and secondly, the inscriptions at Sublaqueum refer to the tribe Aniensis, not to the tribe Camilia, to which Tibur belonged. It is to be noted, however, that the number of inscriptions with a tribal designation is very small, that they are of a private nature, and bear no evidence of an early date.[52] It is plain that the arguments on which it is assumed that Sub-

[49] Livy vi, 29.

[50] Tac. *Ann.* xiv, 22.

[51] Horace *Epis.* i, 14, 3 speaks of sending five men from his farm to Varia to vote; and Strabo v, 3, 11, enumerates Varia as one of the Latin towns on the Via Valeria.

[52] It is not to be forgotten that Tibur did not receive Roman citizenship and was, therefore, not included in a Roman tribe until 90 B. C., after its power was greatly lessened. Obviously, then, the territory in which inscriptions are found referring to the Camilia tribe would represent the territory of Tibur after 90 B. C., not in the fourth century B. C. It is also necessary to remember that membership in a tribe was hereditary, and it is impossible to tell whether the person who is referred to in an inscription as belonging to a certain tribe was still living in the place where he, or some ancestor, had first become a member of that tribe.

laqueum did not belong to Tibur do not hold for the earlier time when Tibur's power was greater and her territory larger. It seems very probable that Sublaqueum, although not a part of the territory of Tibur in later times, was once included in the *ager Tiburtinus*, and therefore Tacitus' words are easily explained; since the term Tiburtinus had once been correctly applied to Sublaqueum, the use of it could linger after Sublaqueum was no longer really Tiburtine.

Pliny says that the Anio formed a boundary line of Latium.[53] Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, practically the same thing, that the Anio separated the Sabine territory from that of the Romans.[54] If this boundary of Latium held as far as Tibur, we shall have to think of Tibur's territory either as lying entirely in Latium to one side of the town, or as being partly in Sabine territory. And Pliny actually counts the Tiburtines among the Sabines.[55] He, however, contradicts himself, for he assigns the Ficolenses, Fidenates, Nomentani, and Tiburtes to the fourth Augustan region (*N. H.* iii, 107), although he had previously assigned the Ficolenses, Nomentani (*N. H.* iii, 64), and Fidentes (*N. H.* iii, 69) to the first region. Therefore, Pliny's authority is shaken, and the boundary between Latium and the Sabines is left uncertain.[56]

It has been suggested that the mistake of considering Tibur as Sabine probably arose from the fact that the town was assigned by Augustus not to the first region, as was the rest of Latium, but to the fourth region with the Sabines.[57] And likewise in the fourth century Tibur was under the *correctores Flaminiae et Piceni*, and was not included with the territory to the south.[58] On the other hand, the reason for assigning Tibur to these northern divisions may have been that a great part of its territory was Sabine. Wherever the boundary of Latium is placed, whether

[53] Pliny *N. H.* iii, 54: . . . et Aniene, qui et ipse navigabilis Latium includit a tergo.

[54] Dion. Hal. v, 37: *Οὐαλέροις δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνίητα, ὃς ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Τιβύρων καθ' ὑφηλοῦ πολὺς ἐκχεῖται σκοπέλου, φέρεται δὲ διὰ τῆς Σαβίνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πεδιάδος ὁρίζων τὴν ἑκατέρων χώραν.*

[55] Pliny *N. H.* iii, 107.

[56] See Kiepert's *Formæ Orbis Antiqui*. xx, Latium. A passage in Livy xxii, 12, says that the dictator Fabius led an army through Sabine territory to Tibur. This has sometimes been considered a proof that the Anio was the boundary between the Sabines and the Latins, a deduction which we might perhaps make from the passage, if the army had been led from Rome, but Fabius had gone out on the Flaminian road to meet the consul and doubtless led the army to Tibur from some point north of Rome, whence the route would naturally be through the Sabines.

[57] Dessau, *C. I. L.*, p. 365.

[58] *C. I. L.*, 3582, 3583, 3594.

along the Anio, so that Tibur lying on the left bank of the river is on the very edge of Latium, or farther to the north as it appears on the Kiepert map, it seems sure that its territory was partly Sabine. In no other way does it seem possible to explain the confusion between Sabine and Tiburtine, which existed in classical times—a confusion in which there was always present an idea of sharp contrast between the polish of the Tiburtine and the rusticity of the Sabine, between the elegant villa and the farm house. Catullus says that his country place is either Sabine or Tiburtine. Those who do not wish to hurt his feelings call it Tiburtine, others are cruel enough to declare that it is Sabine.[59]

The much discussed question of Horace's Sabine farm immediately suggests itself here. Those who would like to make Horace's references to his farm and his references to Tibur fit exactly think they can do so by putting the Sabine farm in Tiburtine territory. If Tibur's territories extended to Varia at this period, Horace's villa in the valley of the Digentia (Licenza) was no doubt within the limit of Tibur's control. But even though Horace's farm was in Sabine-Tiburtine territory, the *praeceps Anio* and the *lucus Tiburni* stay stubbornly in the town of Tibur, and there is absolutely no one place which fits all allusions. Horace, must, therefore, be granted the freedom of a poet to use expressions which cannot be made to yield exact biographical or geographical data. The present uncertainty is more easily understood when we realize that even Suetonius,[60] who lived so much nearer than we to the poet's time, was not clear about Horace's home near Tibur.

The first point at which Tibur is mentioned in those accounts which are usually classed as history rather than legend is at the time of a disturbance in the government of Rome—a disturbance which tradition says was the driving out of the kings and the establishment of a republic. It is natural that this trouble in Rome should be reflected in the other towns of Latium, among which Rome had already begun to assume the

[59] Catullus xliv, i ff.: O funde noster, seu Sabine, seu Tiburs, (Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est cordi Catullum laedere; at quibus cordi est, Quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt) Sed seu Sabine sive verius Tiburs; cp. Martial ix, 60. It appears from these lines on a rose garland that roses from Tibur would not be counted as Sabine.

[60] Suet. (Reiff.), p. 47: Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum; Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Historie iii, 1883, p. 82 ff. The whole question of the exact location of Horace's villa in the valley of the Digentia (Licenza) has recently been reopened by new excavations. See L'Illustration 17 Mai, 1913, for an article by Robert Vaucher. This identification has already been disputed.

leadership. Tibur is named by Dionysius[61] as one of the twenty-nine Latin states that joined with Tarquin against Rome in the struggle which ended with the famous battle of Lake Regillus. This defeat of the Latin league by Rome was the beginning of a period of more decided Roman hegemony which finally resulted in the dissolution of the league at the end of the Latin war a century and a half later. Tibur and Prænestе were by far the strongest[62] members of the league. Not long after the battle of Lake Regillus, Spurius Cassius in his second consulate (493 B. C.) renewed the treaty for mutual aid between Rome and the Latin towns.[63] Although it is known that Tibur was one of the states in the league at first, it is not certain that it remained a member during all the time of the league's existence.

A famous passage from Cato names Tibur in a list of eight places which took part in a dedication to Diana in the forest of Aricia.[64] The passage was quoted by Priscian, and it has been claimed that he ended his quotation when he had illustrated his grammatical point, and that the list probably continued with the remaining names of the Latin league. It is impossible to decide whether this was a partial list of the members of the Latin league, or a smaller combination of states which has sometimes been called the Aricine League, or whether these eight places represented the membership of the Latin League at the time.[65]

[61] Dion. Hal. v, 61. The list dates from a much later time; cp. Mommsen *Hist. of Rome* i, p. 448 ff. (ed. 1908).

[62] Tibur occurs first in the list of old Latin cities given by Diodorus Siculus vii, 5, 9, and in that of Festus under *municipium*, with Prænestе coming second. In the list in *Origo gentis Rom.* xvii, 6, the order is reversed.

[63] Cicero, *pro Balbo* xxiii; Livy ii, 33; Dion. Hal. vi, 95; Festus, p. 166, under *nancitor*. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 49, expresses the belief that the political compact between Rome and the Latin towns was not entered into until 358 B. C.

[64] Cato, fr. 58 (Peter); Priscian iv, 21 (Keil ii, p. 129); Lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino Egerius Baebius Tusculanus dedicavit dictator Latinus. Hi populi communiter: Tusculanus, Aricinus, Lanuvinus, Laurens, Coranus, Tiburtis, Pometinus, Ardeatis, Rutulus. Cp. Priscian vii, 60 (Keil ii, p. 337). Cp. also a faulty passage in Festus, p. 145.

[65] Beloch, *Der Italische Bund*, pp. 179 ff.; Seeck, *Rh. Mus.* xxxvii, 1882, pp. 15 ff.; Schwegler, *Roem. Gesch.* ii, 291. Mommsen proves that this dedication must have taken place sometime between 442 and 382, probably not much after 442; *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i, p. 445, note 2 (ed. 1908); E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Altertums* v, iv, 3, 810, puts it about 450 B. C., and believes that it contains the names of all the members of the League at the time; cp. Pais, *Storia Critica di Roma*, pp. 372 ff., who comments on the presence of Cora in the Aricine League as the only town outside of old Latin territory. Whether Cora was an early Latin town, or an early Volscian town where a

Servius speaks of a victory of the Tiburtines over the Volscians, a point about which history gives no further light;[66] and in Festus (p. 321). there is evidently a mention of some fact in the history of Tibur, but because of the state of the text it is impossible to determine what it was

There was between Tibur and Rome a *foedus aequum*. The legal and complete equality of Tibur with Rome is shown by the right of exile, which was a recognition of mutually exclusive citizenship.[67] Tibur and Præneste seem to have been the only ones of the Latin cities to keep this right; with them it continued down to 90 B. C, the time of the Julian law. As far back as 446 B. C., M. Claudius, client and tool of Appius Claudius, after the unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the Roman girl Virginia, went into exile at Tibur, *Tibur exulatum abiit*.[68] This date of 446 compared with 90 B. C., when Tibur's right of exile ends, serves to show the length of Tibur's independence and its long resistence against the growing power of Rome.[69]

The stipulations of the equal treaty which Rome had entered into with Præneste and Tibur, seem to have been often transgressed. In the year 360 there was open trouble between Rome and Tibur. Twenty years or more before this Tusculum had been compelled to give up its political independence and become a subject community of Rome. Shortly afterwards, in 380, Præneste, a sister state of Tibur, had resorted to arms to maintain her right against Rome. Livy says that in 360 the Roman consuls had led an army against the Hernici, and taken their city of Ferentinum. When they were returning home, the Tiburtines closed their gates against them.[70] Many complaints had previously been made on both sides, but this was the direct cause of war being declared against the Tiburtines.

In this same year the Gauls pitched their camp at the third milestone of the Via Salaria, near the bridge across the Anio. The famous single combat followed, in which T. Manlius, the Roman champion, conquered.

Latin colony was later established, is a disputed question. See Pauly-Wissowa under *Cora*; cp. Serv. *Æn.* vii, 672, who makes Coras, the brother of Tiburtus, founder of Cora. Dessau, *C. I. L.*, p. 365, note 9, finds in this some possible connection, of which we know nothing, between Cora and Tibur in ancient times. The name of Cora appearing in this Aricine list might be considered another suggestion of the same thing.

[66] Serv. *Æn.* viii, 285: . . . post victoriam Tiburtinorum de Volscis.

[67] Polyb. vi, 14; Livy iii, 58; xliii, 2; Ovid. *Ex. P.* i, 3, 82 ff.; *Fasti* vi, 665 ff.

[68] Livy iii, 58.

[69] The Letters S. P. Q. T., i. e. *Senatus populusque Tiburs* on the lamp-posts in the streets of Tivoli today are a reminder of the ancient independence of Tibur.

[70] Livy vii, 9.

The Gauls on the next night withdrew into the territory of Tibur, and from there departed into Campania, after having formed an alliance for the purpose of war with the Tiburtines, and after having been supplied with provisions by them.

Because of this alliance, the Roman consul the next year led an army against the Tiburtines. The Gauls came back from Campania to help their allies, and under Tiburtine guidance, says Livy, committed dreadful devastations in Labican, Tusculan, and Alban territory. A dictator was appointed because of the Gauls, Livy assures us, not because of the people of Tibur, against whom a consular leader would have been sufficient. A consular army kept the Tiburtines at a distance while the Gauls were met and defeated near the Colline Gate. The Gauls fled to Tibur; the Tiburtines came out to meet them, and together with the straggling barbarians were driven within their walls by the consular army under Poetelius.

In this account of Livy we see that Tibur was powerful enough to dare defy Rome, and that it evidently acted independently of the Latin League. Livy's statement that many complaints had previously been made on both sides shows that state of irritation which often results from the too near equality of two neighboring powers; and that the one took advantage of the weakness of the other when a foreign invasion gave the occasion was a result that might naturally be expected.

After the defeat of the Gauls and the Tiburtines, the consul Poetelius enjoyed a double triumph.[71] This triumph the Tiburtines derided, for when, they asked, had Poetelius encountered them in the field? They boasted that the Romans should soon see great confusion before their own walls. The next year[72] in accordance with their threat, a Tiburtine army marched by night against the city of Rome. Sudden confusion and terror were the result. This was because of the darkness, Livy says, and because the Romans did not know who the enemy were. When daylight made plain the identity of the enemy and showed how small their number was, they were quickly routed by the two consuls, who marched out by different gates.[73]

[71] Livy vii, 11: Acta Triumphorum.

[72] Livy vii, 12.

[73] It is interesting to compare the account of this night attack as given by a loyal Tiburtine of later date, who shows an ability equal to Livy's in putting the affairs of his own country in the best possible light. Martio in his *Historia Tiburtina Amplificata* iii, p. 42, says that the Romans were terrified, put guards on their walls, and at day sent out both consuls against the Tiburtines, who having fulfilled their vow to terrify the Romans, that which they came to Rome to accomplish, marched back home.

In the year 356 Livy says that the Roman consuls had two wars on their hands. The one with the Tiburtines, who were driven into their city and whose land was ravaged, was easily ended.[74] There seems, however, to have been no decisive victory, for the next year, 355, the struggle continued. Livy says that in this year Empulum was taken from the Tiburtines.[75] In 354 the consuls forced the Tiburtines to surrender. The city of Sassula was taken from them, and all their other towns would have shared the same fate, if the whole nation had not laid down its arms and submitted to the discretion of the consul. For this victory M. Fabius Ambustus was granted a triumph.[76] This defeat of the Tiburtines seems to have been a decisive one, for we hear nothing more of them until the time of the revolt of all the Latins.

The bold demand of the Latins about 340 that one of the Roman consuls should be selected from their number led to the Latin war of 340-338.[77] After one indecisive campaign, the struggle centered around Pedum, which was helped by the states of Tibur, Præneste and Velitrae; auxiliaries also came from Lanuvium and Antium. The advantage was with the Romans, but while the affair was still unsettled, the consul went to Rome to demand a triumph. The triumph was not granted, but instead there was a demand that a dictator be appointed for the continuance of the war against the Latins. The confusion and disagreement in Rome was followed by the election for the year 338 B. C. of regular consuls, who were ordered to take and destroy Pedum. At this time only the people of Tibur and Præneste, whose territory lay nearest, came to Pedum's assistance. One consul, Maenius, engaged the rest of the Latins, while the other consul, M. Furius Camillus, marched to Pedum. In the account of the actual struggle at Pedum Livy mentions only the Tiburtines.[78] The forces of Præneste must have gone home before the struggle began, for it seems quite improbable that Livy should have meant both Tiburtines and Prænestines by his term *Tiburtes*, and in the triumph, which was granted, only the Tiburtines are mentioned. To this third triumph over the Tiburtines was added the honor of equestrian statues to be erected in the forum, an honor rare in that age.

[74] Livy vii, 17.

[75] Livy vii, 18.

[76] Livy VII, 19: Acta Triumphorum.

[77] For a reference to Tibur in the Latin War, see Florus i, 5, 7 (i, 11): Tibur, nunc suburbanum et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur.

[78] Livy viii, 13: Camillus ad Pedum cum Tiburtibus maxime valido exercitu, maiore mole, quamquam aeque prospero eventu, pugnat.

In adjusting the affairs with the Latins at the conclusion of the war, each state was dealt with separately. Tibur and Præneste were punished by having some of their land taken from them, not so much on account of the recent rebellion which had been in common with the other Latins, as because in their dislike of Roman power they had joined with the Gauls, a nation of savages. Such is the account which Livy gives of the Latin war in which Tibur and Præneste were the strongest states engaged in the struggle against Rome. The war against Tibur had been begun in 360, and at its close in 338 Tibur was still an independent state, although it had been forced to yield part of its territory to Rome.[79]

In 312 B. C. Tibur is once more mentioned as a place of exile.[80] The flute-players of Rome prohibited by the censors from holding their banquets in the temple of Jupiter, went off in a body to Tibur, so that there was not one left in the city to play at the sacrifices. The Roman senate showed its devotion to religious form by sending ambassadors to Tibur, asking that the flute-players be restored to Rome. The Tiburtines obligingly undertook the mission, and when their exhortations were not listened to, they resorted to strategy. The flute-players were feasted, and made drunk; then placed in wagons and carted off to Rome, where they awoke the next morning to find themselves in the Roman forum. Ovid gives a characteristically vivid account of this incident in which he varies the details somewhat.[81]

[79] In regard to the coinage of Tibur, Mommsen, *Roem. Muenzwesen*, p. 239, says that it is very probable that it had a partial coinage, but if so the coins have been lost in the mass of inscriptionless, heavy copper coins of middle Italy. Cf. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine* I, pp. 6 and 7. Rome, however, took over the coinage in 268 B. C., when she first began a silver coinage and limited the privileges of the Latin colonies.

[80] Livy ix, 30; cp. Val. Max. ii, 5, 4; Plut. 277, F.

[81] Ovid *Fasti* vi, 665 ff. Seventeenth century Italian writers on the history of Tivoli say that the proverb *Ei beve più d'un Pifaro* came from this incident. Cp. Martio *op. cit.* iv, 117. Eckhel (*Doctrina Numorum Veterum* v, p. 276 ff.) explains by this incident the design on a denarius of L. Plautius Plancus, who was a monetary magistrate in 45 B. C. Eckhel follows Ovid's account and that reading of the text which makes Plautius, the colleague of Appius Claudius Cæcus in the censorship, the one to bring about the return of the flute-players. Plautius ordered that their faces should be concealed by masks so that they should not be recognized on their entrance into Rome. The denarius by which Eckhel thinks L. Plautius Plancus in 45 B. C. recalled the deed of his ancestor of 312 B. C., bears on its reverse the chariot of Aurora alluding to the moment of the consummation of the scheme of Plautius, the discovery of the flute-players in the Roman forum at dawn; on its obverse the coin shows a mask. Cf. Babelon, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 325 and 6; Stevenson, Dict. of Roman Coins under *Plautia*.

For almost a century after this we find no reference to Tibur in Roman history. It is not mentioned in connection with the Second Punic War, except that Fabius selected the town as a place of assembly for troops, and himself led an army there on the day appointed.[82] Syphax, the king of Numidia, brought to Italy by Scipio at the close of the Second Punic War, was kept as a prisoner at Tibur, after his transfer there from Alba, and at his death in Tibur was honored by a funeral at public expense by decree of the senate.[83]

The lex Iulia passed in the midst of the social war, greatly extended the Roman franchise. Full citizenship had previously been given to the greater part of Latium, but Tibur and Præneste were still joined to Rome by an equal treaty. At this time Tibur's independence finally ended, and under the terms of the lex Iulia it became a Roman town. The new order of things instituted under the Julian law was not fully enforced at once because of the struggle between Marius and Sulla, which followed the Social war immediately.

In the Marsic war Tibur wisely held aloof, and fared much better than her neighbor Præneste, which made the mistake of joining the party of Marius. We are told by Appian that Cinna in his desire to gain adherents went to the nearest towns, to Tibur, Præneste and others, to urge them to join his party and to collect money for use in the war.[84] The people of Tibur did not encourage Cinna as we know, because they escaped that vengeance of Sulla which fell so heavily on Præneste. Tibur's friendly relations with Rome seem never to have been interrupted after the Latin War.

A notable inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3584) gives the reply of the Roman senate to the Tiburtines who protested their innocence of some unfaithfulness of which they were evidently suspected. A bronze tablet on which this decree of the senate was engraved was set up at Tibur, and served to show the pleasure which the Tiburtines took in Rome's assurance that they had completely cleared themselves of all suspicion of the act of which, as the incription says, the Romans had not believed they could be guilty. The inscription from its content seems to date shortly before or during the Social war. Earlier than this Tibur was too proud and too independent to be so pleased at Roman graciousness,

[82] Livy xxii, 11 and 12. There are two passages in the poem of Silius Italicus iv, 186 ff. and iv, 224 ff., referring to the Tiburtines in the Second Punic War, both clearly modeled after passages in the *Æneid*—and purely imaginary.

[83] Livy xxx, 45; Val. Max. v, 1, 1; Eutropius, *Breviarum*, p. 249.

[84] Appian, *B. C.* i, 65.

and later, after the Julian law, there was little occasion for such grave suspicions.[85]

Before the lex Iulia there were a few Tiburtines who had received Roman citizenship under the law that whoever among the Latins successfully prosecuted a Roman should be rewarded by Roman citizenship. Cicero tells of two such Tiburtines, Titus Coponius and Lucius Cossinius, who became Roman citizens of worth and dignity.[86]

During the civil war there are only incidental references to Tibur, but they are instructive because they show that the place was already becoming a favorite location for the villas of distinguished Romans. Antony, who had a villa in this region, also uses the town as a center for his war preparations. Near the end of the year 44, he led his forces to Tibur,[87] and held an almost royal court there. Appian tells of the distinguished gathering of senators and knights who had accompanied Antony.[88]

[85] The original bronze tablet on which the inscription was engraved was in the Barberini Palace in Rome as late as the middle of the 18th century, but since that time has been lost. The most diverse dates have been given to this inscription. Vulpius (*Vetus Latium* xviii, 2) believes that the Tiburtines after the battle of Lake Regillus engaged in all sorts of enterprises unfriendly to Rome, but maintained at the same time a pretense of faithfulness. If accused they protested their innocence. At this time the Romans connived at their fault, and pretended to believe in their innocence because it was an inopportune time to enter into another war. Cp. Kircher iii, i, 6; Niebuhr *Hist. of Rome* ii, p. 126 (ed. 1844) assigns this inscription to the Second Samnite War and considers it the oldest of all Roman documents. Nibby, *Analisi* iii, p. 172, dates the inscription in the time of the Social War. Dessau, *C. I. L.*, p. 366, believes it belongs to the middle of the second century B. C.

[86] Cicero, *pro Balb.* xxiii: Quo modo igitur L. Cossinius Tiburs, pater huius equitis Romani, optimi atque ornatissimi viri, damnato T. Cælio, quo modo ex eadem civitate T. Coponius, civis item summa virtute et dignitate—nepotes T. et C. Coponios nostis—damnato C. Masone, civis Romanus est factus? The gens Cauponia, or Coponia, is represented at Tibur by three inscriptions—*C. I. L.* 3538, 3540, 3740. *C. IL.* v, 1027, shows the sepulchral inscription of Cn. Coponius Felicio, who was born at Tibur but died at Aquileia. Ereptus fato est Aquileiæ. Tiburi natus. For the gens Cossinia see *C. I. L.* 3755.

[87] Cicero, *Phil.* xiii, 9.

[88] Appian, *B. C.* iii, 45: Quas vero circa se habebat copias Tibur duxit, eo apparatu quo ad bellum iri solet . . . . . Tiburi autem agenti Antonio senatus ferme universus praesto fuit honoris causa, et equitum Romanorum pars maxima, tum e plebe praestantissimus quisque, etc. Antonio del Re, *Antiquitates Tiburtinæ* ii, under *Villa Ventidii Bassi*, says that in his day there was a certain building in Tibur still called *Palatium Regnum*, from this assembly of leading Romans, all of them like kings. Cicero, *ad Att.* viii, 14, 3, contains an obscure reference to Tibur in the year 49.

A few years later Octavianus in his struggle against Lucius Antonius took money, which he promised to restore, from five temples, among which was the great temple of Hercules at Tibur.[89]

The end of the Roman republic and the end of Tibur's independence came at almost the same time. The struggle, which lasted from the time of Marius and Sulla until Augustus finally established peace, marked the end of the Roman republic. During this same period Tibur became a Roman *municipium* and appears in history only as a place of gathering for Roman armies, or a point of interest to Roman leaders who seek money from its temple for use in war, or again desire nothing more than the quiet of their Tiburtine villas.

[89] Appian, B. C. v, 24.

CHAPTER II

Tibur Under the Roman Empire

> Tibur is beautiful, too, and the orchard slopes, and the Anio
> Falling, falling yet, to the ancient lyrical cadence;
> Tibur and Anio's tide.—*Clough.*

During the later years of the republic there were a few wealthy Romans who had villas at Tibur, but in the time of the empire the popularity of the region as a location for country homes was so great that Tibur became almost a suburb of Rome, a garden spot in which those who wished to flee from the noise or heat of the city found relief. Tusculum was the only place near Rome that was in any way a rival, and it is doubtful if in any other part of Italy there were so many and such beautiful villas as at Tibur. Surely no place equaled it in the love with which it inspired the poets.

If we seek the cause of this popularity, the first thing which we consider is the climate. The cascades of the Anio, and the high location made the air fresh and cool. Martial again and again sings of the coolness of Tibur. The shores of Baiae are pleasant in winter, but when summer comes, they must yield to Tibur.[1] Twice he uses the adjective *gelidus*[2] in speaking of Tibur, and to a friend who has spent the summer in a cold valley he says that Tibur will be a good winter resort for him, comparatively warm after such cold as he has had during the summer.[3] From Martial we hear, too, of the healthfulness of Tibur; he declares that death is no respecter of places, healthful or unhealthful—even at Tibur one may die.[4] It is the coolness which Statius also loves. Whoever, he says, can get to the Tiburtine villa of Vopiscus, him the dog-star

[1] Mart. *Epig.* iv, 57, 9 and 10: Herculeos colles gelida vos vincite bruma. Nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus.

[2] Mart. *Epig.* iv, 64, 32; i, 12, 1.

[3] Mart. *Epig.* v, 71, 6.

[4] *Epig.* iv, 60:

> Cum Tiburtinas damnet Curiatus auras
> Inter laudatas ad Styga missus aquas
> Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cum mora
> Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.

Cp. Sen., *Ben.* iv, 12, 3: Nemo Tusculanum aut Tiburtinum paraturus salubritatis causa et aestivi secessus quoto anno empturus sit, disputat. Cf. Catullus XLIV, 6 and 7.

can do no harm.[5] Horace thinks more of the waters, the *praeceps Anio*, and the banks of the stream along which he wanders as he fashions his songs. Twice he uses the adjective *udus*, to which he evidently gives the meaning *well-watered*;[6] again it is *uvidum Tibur*;[7] and the streams and woods of Tibur shall make him famous.[8] In the fourth century Symmachus, writing to his friend Atticus, praises the thick shade of the cypresses, the abundant fountains, and the coolness of Atticus' villa at Tibur.[9]

The famous baths of Aquae Albulae lay in Tiburtine territory, about four miles from the town, and added much to the favor which Tibur enjoyed. A definite description of these famous springs at the present time is given by an English scholar who has carefully studied this part of the Campagna. He says: "The Aquae Albulae lie about one mile to the north of the high road. The water is bluish, strongly impregnated with sulphur and carbonate of lime, and rises at a temperature of 75° Fahr. There are two lakes in which the water rises, the Lago delle Colonnelle and the Lago della Regina, both of which are continually diminishing in size owing to the amount of deposit left by the water on the banks. On the west side of the Lago della Regina are considerable remains of a large building which is variously called the Bagni di Marco Agrippa or the Bagni della Regina Zenobia, neither of which names rests upon any real authority."[10]

We have a multitude of witnesses to these waters from classical times. Strabo says that the cold waters, which came from many springs were drunk for various diseases, and also had a healing effect when used in baths.[11] Pliny calls the waters *egelidae*, and says they were good for wounds.[12] Suetonius writes that Augustus used the baths for nervous

[5] Stat. *Silv.* i, 3, 1 ff.

[6] Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 13; iii, 29, 6. Cp. Ovid, *Fasti* iv, 71.

[7] Hor. *Od.* iv, 2, 30. Cp. Priapea LXXV, 9.

[8] Hor. *Od.* iv, 3, 10 ff.:

Sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt,
Et spissae nemorum comae
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

[9] Symm. *Epis.* vii, 31: Retrahere nos e Capaniæ gremio Tiburtis agri laudibus studes. Est ille, ut prædicas, in tuo rure densus cupressis et fontium largus et montano situ frigidus.

[10] Ashby, Papers of the British School at Rome iii, p. 117.

[11] Strabo, v, 3, 11.

[12] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi, 10: Iuxta Romam Albulae Aquae volneribus medentur egelidæ. Cp. Isiod. *Orig.* xiii, 13, 1.

trouble.[13] According to Suetonius the water was hot, but Strabo and Vitruvius say that it was cold.[14] Pausanias, who had himself seen the waters, harmonizes these different opinions to a certain extent; he describes the water as cold when you first entered, so that you shivered, but, after you had been in a little while, you grew as warm as if you had drunk some fiery drug.[15] Vitruvius comments particularly on the sulphurous nature of the water as shown in taste, color, and smell, which he characterizes as *non bonus* and *corruptus*.[16] The waters continued to enjoy imperial favor after Augustus. It is surmised that Hadrian chose the location for his villa so that he would be near the baths of Aquae Albulae, and Nero had the water piped to his Golden House.[17]

Even in ancient times the hardening around the banks of the sulphurous ingredient in the water was noticed.[18] Italian writers of one or two hundred years ago say that the scanty herbage on the edge of the canal which conducts the waters into the Anio was often covered with a white deposit from the sulphur which made it look as if candied; the name *confetti di Tivoli* was given to this.[19] Kircher, writing in 1670, says that the largest lake was a mile in circumference, and Uggeri in 1806 says that it had diminished to about 250x350 feet.[20] Since the deposit along the edges of the lakes and the consequent dimunition of the circumference has probably been continuous since the time of Seneca, the lakes were no doubt in Roman times of far greater size than modern measurements indicate.

[13] Suet. *Aug.* 82.

[14] Vitr. viii, 3, 2.

[15] Paus. iv, 35, 10.

[16] Vitr. viii, 3, 2; cp. Mart. i, 12, 2: Cana sulphureis Albula fumat aquis; Stat. Silv. i, 3, 75: Illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines. See Nibby, *Analisi* i, p. 5, for an analysis of the water by Sir Humphrey Davy. For later opinion in regard to the medicinal power of the water, see Cabral and Del Re (1779) p. 67 ff. Uggeri, *Journée Pittoresque de Tivoli*, p. 24, says that in his day (1806) peasants troubled with skin diseases bathed in the water from time to time and were cured. There is still today a sulphurous bath at the place. Cp. Hitzig et Bluemner on Paus. iv, 35, 10. Cp. also Baedeker under *Tivoli*.

[17] Suet. *Nero*, xxxi, 2.

[18] Sen. *N. Q.* iii, 20, 4: Hoc minus tibi videbitur mirum si notaveris Albulas et fere sulphuratam aquam circa canales suos ripasque durari.

[19] Martio, *Historia Tiburtina Amplificata*, V, 174 and 175.

[20] Kircher, *Vetus et Novum Latium* iv, iii, 4; Uggeri, *Journée Pittoresque de Tivoli*, p. 22. Cp. Cabral and Del Re, p. 65 ff.

The divinities of this place and the incriptions to them will be treated in the chapter on cults, but one inscription should be mentioned here as it testifies to medicinal aid. A wound caused by a boar's bite had been cured by the healing waters, and a consequent dedication of some object in marble was made in gratitude.[21]

There is echoed in the poets an old belief that discolored ivory would grow white, if taken to Tibur. Martial makes it the subject of three of his short epigrams. Dark Lycoris has gone to Tibur because she heard that the ivory of old teeth grew white under the suns of Tibur. But what did the air of lofty Tibur avail? She returned in a short time, black.[22] And again a toga, the gift of a friend, is whiter than lilies, or the ivory which is made white in the air of Tibur.[23]

Tibur is commonly called fertile. The fertility no doubt was that which comes from an abundant supply of water and careful cultivation, as well as from the original quality of the soil, for Varro calls the soil of Tibur *mediocris*, while he classifies that of Etruria as rich.[24] A great part of the land, however, belonged to the Roman villas which dotted the hillsides, and nature was helped in doing its best. Εὐκαρπότατος is the adjective used by Strabo of the Anio valley.[25] The poets celebrate the fertility of the place. Horace writes of the kindly and fertile soil of Tibur.[26] Statius is more extravagant: *Non largius usquam indulsit Natura sibi.*[27]

Fruit was the chief product of the soil, if we may trust references in literature. Cato, who is the only writer to mention grain,[28] speaks of *hordeum* at Tibur. If in the days of the practical Cato grain was grown in this region, the practice seems soon to have stopped. There is no mention of it in any other writer, not even in Pliny, who talks of the figs, the trees, and the grapes of Tibur. We may, perhaps, see in this an instance of the general trend of all Italy away from grain toward the vine and the olive.[29] The existence of a collegium of caplatores at Tibur,

[21] *C. I. L.* 3911; *Carm. Ep.* 865.

[22] Mart. *Epig.* vii, 13; cp. *Epig.* iv, 62.

[23] Mart. *Epig.* viii, 28. Cp. Prop. iv, 7, 81 ff. Ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat arvis Et numquam Hercules numine pallet ebur; Sil. Ital. xii, 229: Quale micat semperque novum est, quod Tiburis aura Pascit, ebur . . . . .

[24] Varro, *De Re Rustica* I, 9, 6.

[25] Strabo v, 3, 11.

[26] Hor. *Od.* I, 18, 2; IV, 3, 10.

[27] Stat. Silv. I, 3, 16.

[28] Cato, fr. 57 (Peter); Priscian x, p. 537 H.

[29] Cp. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i, 450 ff.

if, as seems almost sure, it was a union of workmen skilled in the making of oil, is a witness to the olives of the locality.[30] *Pomifer*[31] and *pomosus*[32] are favorite adjectives applied to Tibur, and are found all through the literature. The apples in particular were praised. Horace says they were not quite so fine in flavor as the famous apples of Picenum,[33] but surpassed them in looks. Juvenal declares that the apples from his farm at Tibur were rivals of those of Picenum.[34] The figs of the region were an early variety.[35]

The vine is not often mentioned. Horace, however, on one occasion enjoins his friend Varus to plant nothing before the god-given vine in the kindly soil of Tibur.[36] According to Athenaeus, the wine grew better with age, but at first was thin, and acquired vigor only after a period of ten years. The wine of Gaurus he considers richer than that of Præneste or Tibur.[37] There was one remarkable tree at Tibur which furnishes an early and probably the most remarkable case of grafting ever known, if we may trust Pliny's account of the various kinds of fruit found on it.[38] A tree which bore on its branches nuts, berries, grapes, pears, figs, pomegranates, and different kinds of apples, would have no reason to be ashamed in the presence of the oaks which had stood since the time of Tiburnus. The trees and the woods were the special delight of the poets. The thick foliage, the forests, the groves, and the shade often furnish subjects for songs.[39]

Testimony that flocks were kept on Tibur's hills is found in Juvenal's famous invitation to dinner, in which he promises that a fat kid from his Tiburtine farm shall grace the table.[40] And Martial promises his friend Faustinus to send him a slave capable of caring for his sheep at Tibur.[41]

[30] *C. I. L.* 3677. See the discussion in regard to the collegium in the next chapter.

[31] Prop. iv, 7, 81; Ovid *Am.* iii, 6, 46; Sil. Ital. iv, 225.

[32] Colum. R. R. x, 138; cp. Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 14: . . . . . uda Mobilibus pomaria rivis; cp. Symm. *Epis.* vii, 18; vii, 19.

[33] Hor. *Sat.* ii, 4, 70; cp. Macrob. *Sat.* iii, 19, 2.

[34] Juv. xi, 74.

[35] Pliny *N. H.* xv, 70.

[36] Hor. *Od.* i, 18, 1 ff.

[37] Athen. i, 26, e. Pliny *N. H.* xiv, 38 says that the grapes resembled olives.

[38] Pliny, *N. H.* xvii, 120.

[39] Hor., *Od.* iv, 3, 11; i, 7, 21; iv, 2, 30; Mart. vii, 28, 1; Stat. *Silv.* iv, 4, 17; cp. Symm. *Epis.* vii, 31.

[40] Juv. xi, 65 ff.

[41] Mart. vii, 80, 11 ff.

Seneca's reference to a Tiburtine cup[42] has been taken by some[43] as proof that pottery was made at Tibur, but if so this is the only mention of it to be found in all literature. It is more probable that the adjective *Tiburtinus* is here used with the meaning of simple or unostentatious, as compared with the costly display of the city.

The one product for which Tibur was more noted than for all others was the travertine or *lapis Tiburtinus* which came from her quarries, and furnished material for some of the proudest buildings in Rome. Travertine is a limestone deposited by running water, and is found at several points near Rome, but in so much greater abundance in the neighborhood of Tibur that it was called Tiburtine stone. It is of a beautiful, creamy color, which weathers to a darker tone.[44] Vitruvius and Pliny both describe the stone as capable of resisting weight, and injury from weather but as being easily affected by fire.[45]

Travertine gradually supplanted tufa, which, because it was soft and easily worked, had been commonly used in earlier times. At first the hard travertine was used only in archways and those parts of a building where there was special strain. Grave stones, altars, and dedicatory slabs were commonly made of this material by the middle of the second century B. C.,[46] and from this time the stone became more and more important. The theatre of Marcellus, finished in the time of Augustus, is the first dated building whose outer wall was entirely of travertine.

Two of the greatest buildings of the world, the Colosseum and St. Peter's, constructed many centuries apart, testify to the almost inexhaustible supply of the stone; and the walls of the Colosseum are sufficient proof of its lasting quality. The ancient quarries show the amount of travertine used in classical times. The large quarry not far from Aquae Albulae was entirely abandoned from the time of the Romans until quite recent years. The branch road which leads to the quarry from the main thoroughfare is one half again as wide as the usual first-class Roman road, and thus serves to indicate the importance of the

[42] Sen. *Epis.* cxix, 3: Utrum sit aureum poculum an crystallinum an murreum an Tiburtinus calix an manus concava, nihil refert.

[43] Pauly, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, under *Tibur*; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.* under *Tibur*.

[44] Cp. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, I, p. 7.

[45] Vitr. ii, 7: Tiburtina (saxa) vero et quae eodem genere sunt omnia sufferunt et ab oneribus et a tempestatibus iniurias, sed ab igni non possunt esse tuta, simulque sunt et ab eo tacta dissiliunt et dissipantur. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi, 167.

[46] Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i, p. 8, n. 11. See Bull. dell' Inst., 1873, p. 89 ff., for the earliest inscription on travertine.

traffic which passed along it. Parallel to the road an aqueduct, whose specus is equal to that of the ancient Marcia, runs to the edge of the quarry, and was doubtless used to supply the power for quarrying. The size of the quarry is enormous. It is estimated that 500,000 square metres of travertine have been taken out. Another proof of the importance and extent of the work in these quarries is the line of artificial hills made of quarry rubbish. One of them is twenty-two metres high.[47]

Even for some of the more artistic and finer work travertine was often used. The fine, close-grained variety is found in the earliest Roman mosaics, as those in the "House of Livia" on the Palatine.[48] Travertine was also excellent material for lime.[49] Since the Anio was navigable, the stone destined for use in Rome was easily transported.[50]

Life in Tibur during the empire, especially during the first two centuries, is closely connected with that of Rome. In the inscriptions every Roman emperor from Augustus down to Commodus is represented except Nerva, and the three emperors of the year 69. There is a dedication to Livia,[51] to Drusilla, the madly loved sister of Caligula,[52] and to Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius;[53] the first and last of these were erected by the people. A fragment shows the words *pro salute Augustae*, partially restored.[54] Another and more important fragment gives a dedication to Augusta, which is probably correctly restored to Crispina Augusta, the space below having once been filled with the name of Commodus. For this dedication the place was granted by the decree of the decuriones, and on the occasion of the dedication *mulsum et crustulum* were given to the people.[55]

[47] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 35-37; Papers of British School at Rome iii, pp. 123-125.

[48] *C. I. L.* vi, 13830, mentions travertine with Luna and Lesbian marble. Vitrv. vii, 164,4 tells of travertine being used in a certain kind of pavement: Item testacea spicata Tiburtino sunt diligenter exigenda; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi, 46, records the words of M. Cicero, when shown the walls in Chios covered with varigated marbles, to the effect that he would have liked them better if they had been made of Tiburtine stone.

[49] Palladius, *De Re Rustica* i, 10, 3.

[50] The travertine for St. Peter's in the 16th century, taken from another quarry, was also delivered to Rome by way of the Anio, but since the river is no longer navigable, the present method of transportation is by wagon.

[51] *C. I. L.*, 3575.

[52] *C. I. L.*, 3576.

[53] *C. I. L.*, 3580.

[54] *C. I. L.*, 3551.

[55] *C. I. L.*, 3581.

Two fragments contain parts of the funeral oration which Hadrian delivered for his mother-in-law Matidia.[56] The Tiburtines evidently had a copy of this oration set up in their town.

Augustus frequently went to Tibur and even held court and pronounced judgment in the portico of Hercules' temple.[57] The statement that Caligula was born at Tibur, Suetonius ascribes to a desire to flatter the prince by giving him an origin from the city sacred to Hercules, a misstatement which was the more easily passed over because the year before another son had been born to Germanicus at Tibur.[58] Claudius is mentioned in connection with the town at one time when he waits there until evening to see an execution of an unusually cruel sort.[59] All this serves to show how closely life at Tibur was joined with that of Rome and the imperial family. The Romans who had villas in this region brought Rome with them, and in a certain sense extended the city boundaries to take in this district.

A true picture of Tibur's hills at this time is hard to get. It is plain from existing ruins and from the names that have come down to us of a few of the distinguished owners that there must have been many villas near Tibur which corresponded in elegance and complexity to Pliny's villa in Etruria, with its porticoes, sunken walks, summer houses and different baths and dining rooms.[60] Horace complained that lordly dwellings with fish ponds and artificial gardens were crowding out the vine and the olive in Italy,[61] and Juvenal's Centronius, who was building-mad, was doubtless but one of a class, although we must take into account Juvenal's tendency to exaggerate.

> Centronius plann'd and built, and built and plann'd,
> And now along Cajeta's winding strand
> And now amid Præneste's hills and now
> On lofty Tibur's solitary brow
> He reared prodigious piles with marble brought
> From distant realms and exquisitely wrought.[62]

On the other hand there were doubtless many smaller, simpler villas fitting the descriptions which we have from Pliny of the little place which

[56] *C. I. L.*, 3579; 3579 a.

[57] Suet. *Aug.* 72; cp. Suet. *Aug.* 82.

[58] Suet. *Cal.* 8.

[59] Suet. *Cl.* 34. Cp. Seneca, Apocol. 7.

[60] Pliny, *Epis.* v, 6.

[61] Hor. *Od.* ii, 15; cp. Sen. *Epis.* xiv, 89, 21.

[62] Juv. xiv, 86 ff. Translation by Cole.

his friend Tranquillus was on the point of buying.[63] Indeed, this villa itself may have been at Tibur, since Pliny says it was a convenient distance from Rome and was desirable because of the good roads. Here his studious friend would be content with a very few acres, enough to amuse him without taking too much time. He could saunter around on his one walk, get familiar with all his little vines, and count his trees. The villa of Martial, who, as we know from his life in Rome, was never a wealthy man, must have been simple; and doubtless as small as that of Tranquillus.

The fact that the poets loved Tibur and that it was to them the carefree country, a happy retreat from Rome, shows that it never became a purely artificial or fashionable resort.[64] Within the town of Tibur itself those who could afford only a poor lodging in Rome might have a simple home and live free from the dangers that beset a city tenement.[65] Tibur was easily accessible from Rome, and those who desired greater isolation and quiet, and more security against possible interruptions, no doubt preferred a country home at a greater distance from the city. Pliny gives this as one of his reasons for preferring his villa in Etruria to one at Tusculum, Tibur or Præneste.[66] The wolf that Horace met when he was wandering in the woods near his Sabine farm shows that natural conditions were not greatly changed.[67]

One has only to know of the ruins which can be found today on almost every hillside in this region to be impressed with the great number of villas which were near Tibur.[68] The identification of these villas presents a question which will probably never receive an answer, since at the present time not more than two or three can be named with any degree of certainty.[69] Antonio del Re gives a list of thirty-one[70] which

[63] Pliny, *Epis.* i, 24; cp. Juv. iii, 230 ff.: Est aliquid, quocumque loco quocumque recessu Unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

[64] Cp. Horace, *Epis.* i, 7,44 ff.: . . . mihi non regia Roma Sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.

[65] Juv. iii, 190 ff.: Quis timet aut timuit gelida Præneste ruinam, Aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volciniis, aut Simplicibus Gabiis aut proni Tiburis arce?

[66] Pliny, *Epis.* v, 6, 45.

[67] Hor. *Od.* i, 22, 9; cp. Macrob. *Sat.* vii, 16, 15. This reference to wild-boar hunts in the forest at Tibur is probably only put in for effect. The wild-boars that figured in the hunts popular in the empire were often obtained from game preserves, cp. Pliny *N. H.* VIII, 211; Gell. II, 20, Varro *De Re Rustica* III, 13, 1; Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, i, 393.

[68] Cp. Papers of British School at Rome, i, p. 133.

[69] Papers of British School at Rome iii, p. 120.

[70] Antonio del Re, *Antiquitates Tiburtinæ.*

he locates and of which he names the ancient owners, but in almost every case his identification rests upon some uncertain tradition, or some over-interpreted passage from a classical author.

It may be interesting to see just how far literature or history gives definite information about these villas.

We know from two references that Metellus Numidicus, who as consul in 109 B. C. conducted the war against Jugurtha, and was later exiled in his struggle with Marius, had a villa at Tibur and probably a very elegant one for the times, for it was said as a matter or reproach to be visible from the porta Esquilina.[71]

It is only surmise, but it seems a very probable one, that this is the same villa which we find mentioned about sixty years later. Cicero accuses Antony of having seized the Tiburtine villa of Metellus Pius Scipio, who was the adopted son of Cæcilius Metellus Pius, the son of Numidicus. Since the grandfather and the grandson each had a villa at Tibur, it is probable that the same villa belonged to the three generations. An interesting Tiburtine inscription (partially restored) refers to the generation between the two which literature connects with Tibur. It reads: *Q. Cæcilius Q. f. L. n. Metellus Pius Imp. Iter.*[72] The stone on which this inscription was cut may, as Dessau surmises, have stood in this very villa, or it may have marked the grave of Cæcilius Metellus Pius.[73] Metellus Pius Scipio, son of Cæcilius Metellus Pius, was the father of Pompey's last wife, Cornelia; he was consul with Pompey in 52 B. C. and committed suicide after the battle of Thapsus. Cicero refers in different places to Antony practicing his oratory in the villa of Metellus Scipio.[74] Antony was also accused of carrying off to this same villa[75] some of the statues and pictures which Cæsar left to the Roman people. Atticus objected for some reason to the accusation in the Second Philippic that Antony had gained possession of the villa by underhand measures, and Cicero accordingly agrees to change the particular phrase which Atticus considers inaccurate.[76]

[71] Cic. *De Or.* ii, 65, 263: Villam in Tiburti habes, cortem in Palatio. Cic. *De Or.* ii, 68, 276.

[72] *C. I. L.*, 3588.

[73] *C. I. L.*, p. 387. Bull. dell'Inst. 1883, pp. 212 ff.

[74] Cic. *Ad Fam.* xii, 2: . . . quum (Antonius) in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset; Cic. *Phil.* v, 7: Ipse (Antonius) interea xvii dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit sitim quaerens; Cic. *Phil.* ii, 17: Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena villa declamasti?

[75] Cic. *Phil.* ii, 42.

[76] Cic. *Ad. Att.* xvi, 11, 2; cp. *Ad. Att.* xvi, 3, 1.

M. Iunius Brutus, the jurist, who was the father of the Marcus Brutus commonly called *Accusator*, had among other villas one at Tibur. He seems to have begun each of the books which he wrote on civil law by telling where he was when he wrote it. During a speech which Crassus delivered against Brutus, the son, he had the opening passage of each of these books read aloud; hence we know that one villa was at Tibur.[77]

Inscriptions tell of freedmen of the gens Iunia buried at Tibur.[78] One of especial interest marked the burial place of Iunia Tyrannis,[79] a freedwoman whom Iunia Calvina[80] had at some time during her eventful life particularly cared for.

According to the speech against Sallust, which has sometimes been attributed to Cicero, Julius Cæsar had a villa at Tibur which the historian Sallust obtained later. The fact, however, that the oration is now considered to be the work of a rhetorician invalidates its testimony about the villa to a certain extent.[81] If the villa was not a rhetorical invention, it was probably one of the most magnificent in the region, since it is classed with the extensive gardens which Sallust owned in Rome.

There are two villas which seem fairly well identified by means of inscriptions. One of these belonged to Ælius Rubrius, of whom we have no further definite information;[82] the ruins of the other lie near to the villa of Hadrian, and, if Lanciani is right in the restoration of a fragmentary inscription, probably belonged to the Vibii Vari.[83]

[77] Cic. *Pro Cluentio*, 141: In Tiburti forte quum adsedissemus ego et Brutus filius; Cic. *De Or.* ii, 55, 224; Quint. vi, 3, 44. In Cicero's letter to Atticus viii, 14- there is evidently a reference to a villa at Tibur which belonged to Cn. Domitius Calvinius or to Lepidus. The state of the text makes the ownership of the villa uncertain.

[78] *C. I. L.* 3790-3792. Cp., also, the fragments 3789 and 3825. The cognomen Iunianus occurs in *C. I. L.* 3649.

[79] *C. I. L.* 3661.

[80] Cp. *Eph. Ep.* I, pp. 60 and 64.

[81] Declam. in Sallust. vii, 19: Quod si quippiam eorum falsum est, his palam refelle, unde qui modo me paternam quidem domum redimere potueris, repente tamquam somnio beatus hortos preciosissimos, villam Tiburti C. Cæsaris, reliquas possessiones paraveris. Neque piguit quærere cur ego P. Crassi domum emissem, cum tu eius villæ dominus sis, cuius paulo ante fuerat Cæsar.

[82] *C. I. L.* 3542: Herculi Domestico T. Æli Rubri Superstitis, Ashby, Papers of British School at Rome, iii, p. 195. Cp. Nibby, *Viaggio Antiquario* i, p. 180. For other references to the gens Rubria at Tibur see *C. I. L.* 3833 and 3834.

[83] Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1899, pp. 32-35; Ashby, Papers of British School at Rome iii, p. 143.

The villa which belonged to Manilius Vopiscus has been beautifully described by his friend, the poet Statius. The two parts of the villa stood on either side of the Anio, at a place where the stream flowed quietly, although above and below it ran noisily over the rocks. It was possible to see and speak and almost reach hands across the water. The July heat could not penetrate into the rooms, which were adorned with gilded ceilings, door-posts of yellow marble, beautiful wall paintings, costly mosaic floors, and countless works of art by old masters. The view either out upon the river or upon the deep woods which came down to the water's edge, was beautiful. Over all was quiet broken only by the soft murmur of the water. Near the bank of the river was a warm bath, and water flowed in every room.[84]

A large marble base at Tibur has on it an inscription to Manilius Vopiscus, his wife, his daughter, and his two sons.[85] This Manilius Vopiscus, as is seen from his *cursus honorum*, which is given on the stone, was consul in the year 114; he was the son, or the grandson, and doubtless also the heir, to the Tiburtine estate of the Manilius who was the friend of Statius, and consul in the year 60.[86] Pliny the Younger probably had a villa at Tibur, but the testimony is a little uncertain.[87]

The enormous ruins of Hadrian's villa near Tibur are well known, and have been the subject of special study by several scholars.[88] Literary evidence in regard to this villa is given by Spartianus in the Life of Hadrian.[89] There are also inscriptions which mention *tabularii*[90] and a *commentariensis*[91] of the villa, and one inscription which refers to the villa itself—*Ælia Villa*.[92] There is no proof of any other imperial villa

[84] Stat. *Silv.* i, 3. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms* iii, 73, 211, 409.

[85] *C. I. L.* 4242.

[86] Not. Scav. 1887, 151.

[87] Pliny, *Epis.* v, 6, 45: Habes causas cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis, Tiburtinis, Prænestinisque meis praeponam. The *meis* is not included in some versions of the text.

[88] H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts, Ergaenzungsheft III, 1895; P. Gusman, *La Villa impériale de Tibur*, *La Villa d' Hadrian*; R. Lanciani, *La Villa Adriana*; guida e decrizione.

[89] Spartianus, *De Vita Hadriani*, 23, 7; 26, 5.

[90] *C. I. L.* 3635; 3637.

[91] *C. I. L.* 3636.

[92] *C. I. L.* 3911. For Greek inscriptions on herms found in the villa of Hadrian and at other places near Tibur, see I. G. xiv, p. 304 ff. For a recently discovered herm, see Bull. Com. 1902, p. 209. All these herms were probably originally from the villa of Hadrian.

at Tibur. Nero's villa at Sublaqueum (Subiaco) was in territory which was probably not Tiburtine in the reign of Nero. The statement that Mæcenas had a villa in Tibur to which he made Augustus heir, has no authority.

Of the poets who sing of the beauties of Tibur many are supposed to have had villas there. Catullus' villa rests on the authority of his words,

O funde noster seu Sabine seu Tiburs,[93]

and was, no doubt, in the Sabine part of the Tiburtine territory. Horace's villa in the valley of the Digentia has already been discussed. Whether he had another in Tibur, or nearer to Tibur, is an open question. It seems on the whole more probable that he had not. When he expresses the wish that he may pass his old age at Tibur,[94] and when he says that at Rome he longs for Tibur and at Tibur longs for Rome,[95] he probably means nothing more accurate than the Tiburtine neighborhood, the region where simplicity of life was possible, as opposed to the complex and artificial life of Rome.[96]

The Varus who had the place at Tibur on which Horace urges him to plant the vine[97] is called by the scholiast, Quintilius Varus, and may perhaps be identified with Vergil's friend, who died in 24 B. C., but of this there is no certainty.

Plancus, whose villa at Tibur, Horace (*Od.* I, 7) alludes to, was probably the L. Munatius Plancus who was consul in 42 B. C. He was at one time governor of Transalpine Gaul, and later was made governor of Asia by Antony. Acron (Hor. *Od.* I, 7) says that Plancus was by origin a Tiburtine.[98]

Propertius' sweetheart, Cynthia, is usually supposed to have had a villa at Tibur. Of this there seems to be no definite proof, beyond the

[93] Catullus 44.

[94] Hor. *Od.* ii, 6, 5: Tibur Argeo positum colono Sit meae sedes utinam senectae Sit modus lasso maris et viarum Militiaeque.

[95] Hor. *Epis.* i, 8, 12: Romae Tibur amem ventosus Tibur Romam.

[96] Scholiast on Hor. *Od.* iv, 3, 10-12: Proprie ad secessum suum referens hoc dicit Horatius. Tiburi enim fere otium suum conferebat, ibique carmina conscribebat. This has often been taken as proof of Horace's home at Tibur, but in view of all the statements of Horace, it seems insufficient proof.

[97] Hor. *Od.* i, 18, 1 ff.

[98] Dessau, *Prosopographia*, under the name doubts the Tiburtine origin of Plancus. Although there is nothing to support Acron's statement, there seems to be no particular reason for doubting it.

fact that she was often there. It was from Tibur that she sent her midnight summons to Propertius,[99] and it was at Tibur, according to Propertius' dream, that she was to lie when dead.[100]

Martial speaks of his own villa,[101] and also of those of his friends Fuscus[102] and Faustinus. Faustinus[103] is spoken of so often and so definitely by Martial that it seems probable that he was a real person. Martial also refers to a certain Apollinaris who prefers his own villa at Formiæ to all others, even the Tiburtine villa of his wife.[104] This Apollinaris has been identified by some as Domitius Apollinaris mentioned by Pliny the Younger, but the identity does not seem capable either of confirmation, or refutation.[105]

Juvenal's place at Tibur supplied the tender kid, the mountain asparagus which his housemaid left her spindle to gather, the newlaid eggs, and other country delicacies which make up the bill of fare when Persicus is invited to dine.[106]

No inscription, or passage in literature, refers to a villa of the Plautii at Tibur, but the existence of the family tomb of the Plautii near the Ponte Lucano with inscriptions of M. Plautius Silvanus, consul of the year 2 B. C., his wife Lartia, and other members of the family, makes the existence of such a villa seem very probable.[107]

Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who was brought to Rome as a prisoner by the emperor Aurelian, was given a villa at Tibur where she lived with her children after the fashion of a Roman matron. Her biographer also says that the villa was not far from Hadrian's, and in a place to

[99] Prop. iii, 16, 1 ff.: Nox media et dominae mihi venit epistula nostrae: Tibure me missa iussit adesse mora, Candida qua geminas ostendunt culmina turres Et cadit in patulos nympha Aniena lacus.

[100] Prop. iv, 7, 85 ff.: Hic Tiburtina iacet aurea Cynthia terra: Accessit ripae laus, Aniene, tuae. Cp. Prop. ii, 32, 5.

[101] Mart. iv, 79: Hospes eras nostri semper, Matho, Tiburtini. Hoc emis: imposui: rus tibi vendo tuum.

[102] Mart. vii, 28, 1 ff.: Sic Tiburtinæ crescat tibi silva Dianae Et properet caesum saepe redire nemus.

[103] Mart. vii, 80, 11 ff.: At tibi captivo famulus mitteretur ab Histro, Qui Tiburtinas pascere possit oves. Mart. iv, 57, 3 ff.

[104] Mart. x, 30, 5.

[105] Martial says in Epig. v, 22, 3-4, in speaking of his home in Rome, that he lives near the Tiburtine column, or pillar, where the rustic Flora gazes at the old Jove. This seems to have been some monument in the neighborhood, but nothing is known of it. Cp. Jordan-Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i³, p. 427.

[106] Juv. xi, 65 ff.

[107] See *C. I. L.* 3605-3608; Eph. Ep. ix, 918.

which the name *Concae* was given.[108] According to Ashby, there is some flat ground not far from the Lago delle Colonnelle, one of the lakes of the Aquae Albulae, which is known as 'I piani di Conchi.' This name Ashby found applied to the same place in two documents of the end of the 16th century, hence it seems possible that the name may have actually lasted on from the time of Zenobia.[109]

In the fourth century Symmachus and some of his friends had villas at Tibur which seem to have been as delightful as Tiburtine villas usually were. Symmachus, however, experienced some of the annoyances to which householders in every age are liable. He likes the air, but the bad management of his *vilicus* worries him.[110] In several letters Symmachus refers to the charm which Tibur has for his friend Attalus. He is spending his honeymoon there in the midst of the orchards and is making Juno, a divinity, equal to Hercules at Tibur. When Attalus obtains possession of an old villa which he plans to repair, he receives most enthusiastic congratulations from Symmachus.[111]

Of the activities and life within the town of Tibur we shall have more to say in succeeding chapters, but here we may call attention to a few facts.

There was a library in the temple of Hercules which, according to Gellius, was well supplied with books. Gellius quotes on one occasion from a book of Claudius Quadrigarius in this library.[112] At another time he and a group of friends had gone to the Tiburtine country during the heated season, and were drinking water made from snow. One of the company objects, and brings a book of Aristotle's from the library at Tibur to prove to them that snow water is most unwholesome.[113] There

[108] Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Zenobiæ* xxiv, 30, 27.

[109] Ashby, Papers of British School at Rome iii, p. 119.

[110] Symm. *Epis.* vi, 81: Nobis Tiburis aura blanditur, sed contra exasperat animum male gesta ratio vilicorum. Cp. *Epis.* vi, 20.

[111] Symm. *Epis.* vii, 20: Villa Tiburs quae proxime in ius tuum venit, maioris ingenii praedicatorem requirit; ego tamen linguae modicus, ut potero, verbis honorem loco faciam. Quid hic in positu aedium venustatis est! Quis situ ex edito fit in plana iactus oculorum! Frequentare has sedes Orchomenias dixerim deas atque eas sedulo adnisas, ut te conciliarent aedibus suis dominum. Perge igitur, ut facis, et victis aevo redde novitatem. Cp. *Epis.* vii, 15; vii, 26; vii, 31.

[112] Gell. ix, 14, 3: Meminimus etiam in Tiburti bibliotheca invenire nos in eodem Claudii libro scriptum utrumque *facies* et *facii*. Cp. Claudius Quadrigarius, fr. 30 (Peter).

[113] Gell. xix, 5; cp. Aristotle, *Physica* vi, fr. 214: Sed cum bibendae nivis pausa fieret nulla, promit e bibliotheca Tiburti, quae tunc in Herculis templo satis commode instructa libris erat, Aristotelis librum, eumque ad nos adfert, etc.

is no way of determining the date of the founding of the library; but the temple of Hercules at the time of Augustus was a large and commodious building, and we know that public libraries had been established even before that time,[114] hence it seems probable that the library dates at least from the beginning of the empire.[115]

There are a few inscriptions which tell of theatrical affairs at Tibur. A fragment[116] shows a dedication to Threptus, *mimus, parasitus Apollinis*,[117] and *adlectus scaenae*. An inscription in Rome,[118] probably of the time of Caligula,[119] gives the names of four pantomimes whom Theoros, the famous pantomime, defeated; one of these four is Pierus, a Tiburtine. In the reign of Commodus the people of Tibur made a dedication to Lucius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius,[120] the pantomime whom Verus brought from Syria,[121] and whom Commodus put to death.[122] The poor pantomime evidently fell in the favor of the Tiburtines at the same time that he lost imperial favor, for there seems to have been an attempt to use the dedicatory stone for another inscription after the death of Apolaustus. A fourth inscription[123] records a gift of many thousand sesterces for the dedication of an amphitheatre by M. Tullius Blaesus, who, as can be seen from other inscriptions,[124] was of the tribe Camilia, and patronus of Tibur in the first half of the second century, probably in the reign of Hadrian.

Two interesting sepulchral inscriptions show a pleasure in good living among the lower class at Tibur. One inscription is to a certain Amemone

[114] Suet. Cæs. xliv.

[115] Cp. Albert *De Villis Tiburtinis Principe Augusto*, p. 17, note 3.

[116] *C. I. L.* 3683.

[117] For the significance and importance of the college of *parasiti Apollinis*, see Daremberg et Saglio, under *parasitus*, p. 332, n. 42; Mommsen, *Roem. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 81.

[118] *C. I. L.* vi, 10115.

[119] See Henzen, Bull. dell'Inst., 1875, pp. 150 ff.

[120] *C. I. L.* 4254.

[121] Capitolinus, *Vita Veri*, 8.

[122] Lampridius, *Vita Commodi*, 7. Similar dedications were made by the people at Capua, *C. I. L.* x, 3716, at Canusium, *C. I. L.* ix, 344, and by a private individual at Rome, *C. I. L.* vi, 10117. A dedication to Mercury was made by Apolaustus himself at Fundi, *C. I. L.* x, 6219; cp. Mommsen, *C. I. L.* ix, p. 38; Athen. i, 36, p. 20, c. *C. I. L.* vi, 10139 concerns a psaltria who seems in some way to have been connected with Tibur, but the reading is uncertain.

[123] *C. I. L.* 4259.

[124] *C. I. L.* 4258, 3599.

who was known by her fame as a cook beyond the confines of her fatherland, and because of whom Tibur had many visitors.[125] The other inscription was found at Rome under the statue of a man reclining and holding a cup in his hand. It begins, *Tibur mihi patria*, and in fifteen lines sets forth a decided Epicurean philosophy, the burden of which is that one should mix the wine and bind the head with garlands, for after death earth and fire consume all.[126]

Numerous inscriptions testify to the natural human life of the place; the warm feeling of affection and sorrow for those who are taken away by death, the devotion of tutors to their young wards, the loyal respect for old nurses,[127] pride in office, and that love of home and country which causes a man to bring back from a distant land the bones of a loved one that they may rest in native soil at Tibur.[128]

[125] *C. I. L.* 3709; Carm. Ep. 603.

[126] *C. I. L.* vi, 17985, a; Carm. Ep. 856.

[127] *C. I. L.* 3834, 3845, Bull. Com. 1899, p. 30, Eph. Ep. IX, 916; *C. I. L.* 3721, is on the stone which marked the grave of Ælia Germana, nurse of the emperor Hadrian.

[128] Cp. *C. I. L.* 3777. It is evident that the sepulchral stone was sometimes put up before the death of the person whose grave is indicated. For example, M. Nummius Proculus Siricarius marks the grave of Valeria Chrysis, the best of wives, and she in turns marks the grave of M. Nummius Proculus Siricarius the best of husbands. *C. I. L.* 3711, 3712.

CHAPTER III

The Government of Tibur

There is little information to be obtained in regard to the government of Tibur in the period while it was still an independent state. The inscriptions with but few exceptions date after 90 B. C., at which time Tibur became a municipium; and historians were more interested in recording the changes in the government at Rome than in describing the government of a neighboring and increasingly less important place, such as Tibur.

Two inscriptions, however, which refer to quæstors, are early and probably antedate the Social War.[1] The early date is shown by the lack of cognomina, and by the fact that there are two quæstors in each case, whereas the later inscriptions which mention quæstors give but one. Moreover, these quæstors in one case surely, and probably in the other, dedicated a public work in accordance with a decree of the senate. In later inscriptions public works are dedicated by quattuorviri, never by quæstors.

There are also two inscriptions of ædiles which seem to be old.[2] They are in the brief form which is more common to the early period, and the names are without cognomina. The spelling also shows a sign of early date in the *ei* for long *i*. Both inscriptions are dedications officially made by two ædiles; one dedication is *ex aere multatico*. It is possible that the word ædilis is used for the later *quattuorvir ædilicia potestate*; this seems rather more probable because occasionally in later inscriptions the form, *ædilis quattuorvir*, is found in place of *quattuorvir ædilicia potestate*. But the word *ædilis* alone does not occur except in these two inscriptions. This fact, together with the old form of the names and of the inscriptions, makes it probable that the office of ædile was an early one before the quattuorviri came in.[3]

It is also practically certain that Tibur had a board of two censors in her early government. Here again there are just two inscriptions,[4] one of which gives the name of two censors, the other records a dedication to Hercules made by one censor. All three names lack the cognomina.

[1] *C. I. L.* 3686, 3655.

[2] *C. I. L.* 3538, 3678.

[3] The name of the ædile, Cauponius, is found several times later in the history of Tibur. See Chapter I, near end.

[4] *C. I. L.* 3541, 3685.

The fact that the twelve rebellious Latin colonies which refused to furnish soldiers in the Second Punic War had censors in 204 B. C. shows that the office was common.[5] But Tibur was not a Latin colony, and Prænestе, the state to which Tibur bears most resemblance, had no censors.[6] Moreover, doubt is thrown on the very early date of at least one of these inscriptions because the name of one of the censors is the same as that of one of the quattuorviri who were officials at Tibur after its organization as a municipium. It would seem that this inscription of the censor, and the one of the quattuorvir belong to the same period. However, it is known that censors belong to a period at least before 45 B. C., as will be made clear later; and it is practically certain that the office of censor in the early years of the municipium—even if both of the censor inscriptions belong to this period, as one of them almost surely does—was a survival of an earlier office in the government of Tibur as an independent state.

Testimony to a senate in the early government is found in the phrase, *in accordance with the decree of the senate* (D.S.S.), in both quæstor inscriptions already referred to. There is, therefore, proof of the existence of a board of two quæstors, of two ædiles, and of two censors, and of a senate in the government of Tibur before it became a municipium.

The record of all of these, although definite, is so scanty that similar records of other offices may easily have perished. Tibur probably had prætors, for in Prænestе the ædiles and quæstors were both assistants of prætors who acted as higher officials,[7] and it is reasonable to assume a similarity between the governments of two states the history of which was so closely connected, and which occupied so nearly the same position in regard to the government in Rome and in Latium for so many years. Moreover, the fact that prætors are found also in other states of Latium,[8] and that two prætors stood at the head of the Latin states in 340 B. C.,[9] makes it probable that the same officials were found in Tibur.[10]

[5] Livy, xxix, 15.

[6] Magoffin, *A Study of the Topography and Municipal Government of Prænestе*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Hist. and Pol. Science, xxvi, nos. 9-11, p. 66.

[7] For references on prætors in Prænestе, see Magoffin, *l. c.*, pp. 67-69.

[8] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* (1887 ed.) II, 1, p. 75. Pauly-Wissowa, under *Dictator*.

[9] Livy viii, 3, 9: Prætores tum duos Latium habebat; cp. Dion. Hal. iii, 34: δύο στρατηγοὺς αυτοκράτορας Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* (1887 ed.) iii, 1, p. 617, n. 3.

[10] Beloch, *Der Italische Bund*, p. 170, says that two prætors stood at the head of the government in Prænestе, Tibur and Cora at this period. For Tibur I have been able to find no absolute proof.

Tibur's friendly relations with Rome for all of the long period after the close of the Latin War in 338 B. C., and the fact that it did not, as far as is ascertainable, participate in the Social War, indicate that it quietly accepted Roman citizenship under the provisions of the lex Iulia in the year 90, or under those of the lex Plautia Papiria in the year 89 B. C.[11] Tibur became a municipium of the kind which kept its own citizenship.[12] The people of Tibur became Roman citizens with the right of exercising the Roman franchise whenever they chose to appear at an election in Rome, but at the same time they had their own city government with assembly, senate, and different grades of officials. They had as it were a double citizenship, but they had lost the status of equality with Rome.[13] Whether the old federated states such as Tibur and Præneste had special rights granted them in the agreement by which they received Roman citizenship is not known, although it seems probable. Præneste, which was always of a particularly independent and even irritable disposition, may have demanded such a concession.[14] Tibur, however, was more peaceable; its nearness to Rome, and the number of Roman nobles who had homes in the vicinity had doubtless already caused the place to assume to some extent the character of a Roman suburb.

An important law in regard to municipal governments was that framed and passed by Julius Cæsar in 45 B. C. There is still some uncertainty as to the scope of this law, of which only fragments remain, but it is clear that it at least contained regulations for the census. It provided for a census to be taken in the municipal towns in the same year in which the census was taken in Rome, the local results to be reported to Rome and incorporated in the Roman census. The census was to be taken in all cases by those persons who held the highest magistracy.[15] After this time the term censor appeared no more,[16] but the highest officials of

[11] For the terms of the lex Plautia Papiria see Cicero, *Pro Archia*, iv, 7; *ad Fam.* xiii, 30; Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.) I, p. 60.

[12] Festus under *Municipium*: tertio, quum id genus hominum definitur qui ad civitatem Romanam ita venerunt uti municipes essent suae cuiusque civitatis et coloniae ut Tiburtes, etc. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.) I, p. 34 ff.

[13] This independence of Tibur is shown by the right of exile as already set forth, but the limitation of coinage shows that Rome had long before 90 B.C. begun to assume a general control. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.) i, p. 46, n. 4.

[14] Magoffin, l. c. pp. 72-74.

[15] Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, p. 160. The *lex Iulia Municipalis*, 142-143.

[16] Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.) i, p. 160 ff., places the beginning of the municipal census under Roman control at the time of the lex Iulia 90 B.C., but this seems hardly to fit the provisions of the lex Iulia Municipalis in 45 B.C. See Magoffin, *Quinquennales*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Hist. and Pol. Science, xxxi, 4, p. 20.

each municipium had a special designation added to their official titles during the year of the census, or received the title of quinquennales alone. These designations may have been used in some places before 45 B. C., but the term censor, outside of Rome, was not used after that time. The censors mentioned in the inscription at Tibur, which is of the same date as an inscription which contains the names of four quattuorviri, belong therefore to the period between 90 and 45 B. C., because the quattuorviri did not come in until after 90 B. C., and the censors are not found after 45 B. C. It seems clear, therefore, that Tibur obtained her constitution as a municipium at some time between these two dates.

The most important officials of the new municipal government of Tibur were the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* and *quattuorviri ædilicia potestate.* in the early part of the municipium the names of all four were placed on public works. There are two such inscriptions, both proved to date before 45 B. C. at least.[17] Five inscriptions[18] each give the names of two quattuorviri, the same ones being mentioned on two stones. In none of these inscriptions either of the four or of the two quattuorviri is there any use of the distinguishing terms *iure dicundo* (*iur. dic.*), and *ædilicia potestate* (*æd. pot.*). But one additional fragment (*C. I. L.* 3662) which records the repair of some public work seems to be correctly restored with the names of two *quattuorviri iur. dic.* The inscriptions which contain the names of single quattuorviri are usually sepulchral, or honorary, or refer to some private benefaction. These with two exceptions give the full designation.[19] One has *ædilis iiii vir.* The Tiburtines seem to have very seldom elected a non-citizen to the office of quattuorvir. Of the nineteen inscriptions of quattuorviri, but one contains the name of a man who can be positively proved to be a non-citizen, and the date of this is as late as the reign of Caracalla. There are two other quattuorviri who were also patroni, so may have been non-citizens. That the office could be held a second[20] and a third[21] time is seen from the inscriptions.

Every fifth year the chief officials had in addition to the usual duties of the quattuorviri the care of the census, and were called quinquennales,

[17] *C. I. L.* 3666, is proved to belong to the period before 45 B.C., because of the name of the censor which occurs in it. *C. I. L.* 3664, is dated by Dessau in the age of Cicero from the shape of the letters and the old spelling.

[18] *C. I. L.* 3667-8, 3679, 3692, 4256; cp. also the obscure inscription, 3670.

[19] *C. I. L.* 3581, 3586, 3653, 3660, 3665, 3669, 3680, 3682, 3689. The two that have only *IIIIviri* are 3672 and 3690.

[20] *C. I. L.* 3669.

[21] *C. I. L.* 3672.

or quattuorviri quinquennales. The material on these officials from the municipalities has been collected and very carefully studied, and the results published in a recent article.[22] One conclusion of this general investigation of the office of quinquennales, viz., that candiadtes were often elected at the suggestion of Rome, is well borne out in the case of Tibur. The care which Rome had for the census was doubtless the reason that the office was so often filled at Roman dication or suggestion.

The ten inscriptions which give names of quinquennales at Tibur exhibit little regularity.[23] Of the ten quinquennales eight were also patroni, and of these eight, five were plainly Romans, because three were of consular rank, one was an *eques Romanus*, and one was a *VIIvir epulonum*. Therefore, half of the quinquennales referred to in the inscriptions were plainly not citizens of Tibur, and probably others belonged to the same class. Three, however, were quattuorviri, and of these one at least was plainly a citizen of Tibur, since he belonged to the tribe Camilia, and had held no office outside of Tibur. One inscription (*C. I. L.* 3682) gives the only instance among the inscriptions at Tibur of a præfectus quinquennalis, an official who usually served in place of and by appointment of some member of the imperial family who had been chosen quinquennalis. Usually such an official was not a citizen of the place where he held office,[24] but in this case he may have been, because he was also a quattuorvir, and had held an office connected with the water supply.

That the office of quinquennalis was considered a great honor and was often conferred as such is plain. An interesting inscription (*C. I. L.* 3663) of the year 184 A.D. was on a monument erected by the citizens of Tibur to M. Lurius Lucretianus because he had exhibited at his own expense twenty pairs of gladiators and a combat of wild beasts when he was honored with the office of quinquennalis. The place for the monument was given by the decree of the senate of Tibur. The suspicion that the monument itself may have been paid for by the much-honored quinquennalis is shown to be false by the inscription; the *Tiburtes municipes* erected the monument *ære collato*. Another inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3581) of almost the same date should be noticed here. The person referred to, although he belongs to the tribe Arniensis, had held all the high offices at Tibur; he had been *IIIIvir ædilis, IIIIvir iur. dic., IIIIvir quinq.*, and

[22] Magoffin, *Quinquennales*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Hist. and Pol. Science, xxxi, no. 4, p. 47.

[23] *C. I. L.* 3581, 3599, 3609, 3650, 3663, 3665, 3674, 3682, 4237, 4247.

[24] Magoffin, *l. c.* pp. 24, 25, 42, 44.

quæstor for the fourth time. In this inscription he dedicates a monument to members of the imperial family.[25] It seems plain that this man owed his advancement to imperial favor. It is noticeable, however, that these inscriptions which show evident flattery and subservience to imperial wishes are late in date.

The preceding inscription, which, as has been seen, probably dates from the reign of Commodus, and one other (*C. I. L.*, 3675) mention the office of quæstor. It is difficult to see why this office is so seldom spoken of, if it had a place in the regular cursus honorum of the municipium. It is possible that it was created only at a late date.[26]

One other office of the municipium remains to be noticed, that of patronus. There are eighteen patroni mentioned in the inscriptions, which, with five exceptions, can be dated approximately. The dates, which range from 127 to 231 A.D., indicate that the office did not belong to the early municipium. Of the eighteen patroni eight were men of consular rank, and one was an eques Romanus. Only three had held the office of quattuorvir, and of these one was plainly a non-Tiburtine; of the eleven whose names have a tribal designation, only one was of the tribe Camilia. Eight of the number were also quinquennales. These facts serve to show that the office was an honorary one to which a non-citizen was usually elected. That there was a wide difference in the position occupied by the different patroni in the estimation of the people is shown by the inscriptions. Of the eight patroni of consular rank five had dedications by the senate and people of Tibur, and three had dedications by the senate. Of the ten patroni who were not of consular rank, one had a dedication by the people of Tibur, and two had places of burial given by decree of the senate.[27] The honor of the office of patronus is emphasized in the inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3614) to M. Tineius Ovinius L. f. Arn. Castus Pulcher, who is spoken of as the son of a patronus and the grandson of a patronus.[28]

[25] The inscription is probably correctly restored with the names of Crispina Augusta and Commodus. The first part of the word Crispina has been broken off, and the name of Commodus is erased.

[26] *C. I. L.* 3690, contains the abbreviations *Æd. Urb.*, but just what should be understood is not clear. The office of *ædilis urbanus* is, as far as I know, an unknown one.

[27] The appended list of patroni may be consulted for the *C. I. L.* numbers of the inscriptions, and other details. See pp. 54 ff.

[28] The word *Tiburtium* occurs in a fragmentory inscription (*C. I. L.* xi, 2699), which was found at Volsinii and may perhaps refer to a patronus of Tibur.

The numerous inscriptions which contain the expression, the senate and the people of Tibur, show that the people held power, at least in name. The usual designation is the abbreviation *S. P. Q. T.*, but the full form *Senatus populusque Tiburs* and other variations are found. Once (*C. I. L.*, 3659) the term *decretum decurionum et plebis* is used. In one case only (*C. I. L.*, 3663) is a dedication made by the people alone (*Tiburtes municipes*). This one instance, when compared with the number of times that dedications are made on the authority of the senate alone, shows clearly that the greater power was in the hands of the senate.

The usual expression for a decree of the senate is *senatus consultum*,[29] but *senatus sententia*[30] is often used; *D.D.* (*decretum decurionum*) and *decretum senatus Tiburtium* are each found once.[31] The senate is referred to as *Senatus Tiburs* (*C. I. L.*, 3611) or as *ordo decurionum* (*C. I. L.*, 4251). The members of the senate are never referred to as *senatores*, but as *decuriones Tiburtes* (*C. I. L.*, 3586, 3599), or as *decuriones*, when used with the word *decretum*. The subservience marked in other cases during the reign of Commodus is seen in the elevation to senatorial rank of the pantomime Apolaustus (*C. I. L.*, 4254). One remarkable inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3657) records a dedication by the senate and people of Tibur to a woman who was chosen by the senate, if *ordo* is correctly interpreted, into some organization, probably the Herculanei Augustales.

The public revenues[32] of the state were greatly added to by private munificence, as can be seen from the inscriptions. A monument is erected by the senate and people of Tibur to C. Bicleius Priscus, who had filled all the offices with honor, and at his death had made the state of Tibur his sole heir (*C. I. L.*, 3654). Another inscription records the permission given to C. Sextilius Ephebus, a freedman of a Vestal Virgin, to erect at his own expense a marble base under the treasury of Hercules and Augustus. The inscription adds that this was not the first time Sextilius had shown his generosity toward the state (*C. I. L.*, 3679). An inscription which dates 174 A.D. tells of a gift, evidently a base and a statue, made by Furius Mæcius Gracchus for the adornment of the baths (*C. I. L.*, 3594). There is also record of a will in which a man bequeaths to his fellow-citizens, the Tiburtines, the use of a bath, called Iulianum, for ten months in the year, his heirs to bear the expense of its maintainance.[33]

[29] *C. I. L.* 3601, 3612, 3643, 3657, 3663, 3664, 3677, 3679a, 3690, 4258, 4259, 4262.

[30] *C. I. L.* 3655, 3666, 3667-8, 3670, 3686; cp. fragments 3694, 3694a.

[31] *C. I. L.* 4250, 3674.

[32] For the source of the public revenues see Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 218.

[33] Digest (Scævola) xxxii, 35, 3; cp. Nibby, *Analisi* iii, p. 488.

In the middle of the fourth century during the reign of Constans and Constantius, a road near Tibur was cut down to a lower level and a bridge rebuilt by the senate and people of Rome.[34] The only explanation for Roman authorities restoring public works outside of Rome and beyond the administration of the prefect of the city at this date is found in the fact mentioned before, that Tibur was really considered a suburb of Rome.

Of the collegia at Tibur some had a religious or semi-religious character, and will be reserved for notice later, but there are brief references to others of a purely industrial character.[35] In 172 A.D. the association of Tiburtine smiths made a dedication to Q. Hortensius Faustinus, their prefect, evidently their chief officer (*C. I. L.*, 3643). According to *C. I. L.*, 3677, the capulatores of Tibur decreed and set up some object, probably a statue, in honor of Saufeia Alexandria, a Vestal Virgin of Tibur. The nature of this collegium of capulatores is not quite surely determined, but it seems very probable that it was an association of men skilled in certain parts of the process of oil-making. Pliny[36] says that the preparation of oil required a greater degree of skill than the making of wine. One of the chief parts of the process was the frequent transference of the oil from one vat to another in order to clarify it.[37] Cato in his discussion of the way to make oil gives explicit directions in regard to "Custodis et capulatoris officia."[38] Columella in his directions speaks of the capulator as pouring the oil into the next vat.[39] Evidence of this collegium is found in other towns. Capulatores are mentioned in an inscription from Ausculum[40] and in one from Casinum[41] as making dedications. In an inscription from Anagina[42] a collegium capulatorum is mentioned. A fourth inscription found at Allifæ[43] speaks of a *col-*

[34] *C. I. L.* 3582, 3583.

[35] For a list of the collegia mentioned in the inscriptions at Tibur, see Waltzing, *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romaines*, iii, p. 661. For some reason Waltzing does not include the *Herculanei Augustales* in his list of collegia at Tibur.

[36] *N. H.* xv, 5.

[37] Cato *De Agr.* 64 ff.; Col. xii, 52, 10 ff.; Pliny *N. H.* xv, 21 ff.

[38] Cato *De Agr.* 66.

[39] Col. xii, 52, 10 and 11.

[40] *C. I. L.* ix, 665.

[41] Eph. Ep. viii, 591.

[42] *C. I. L.* x, 5917.

[43] *C. I. L.* ix, 2336.

legium capulatorum sacerdotum Dianæ. The Notitia and the Curiosum give as one of the buildings in the third region in Rome *Schola quæstorum et capulatorum,*[44] a name which Huelsen thinks may possibly have survived in the name of a middle-age church and street of the same locality.[45] The inscription from Allifæ, with its seeming identification of capulatores with priests of Diana, has led some[46] to believe that the capulatores were an association connected with the service of the priests, their name being derived from *capis* or its diminutive *capidula*, a kind of pontificial vase or cup[47]—rather than from the probably allied verb *capulare*, which is used in discussions of oil-making. The discovery of other inscriptions of the collegium capulatorum may throw added light on the question, but at present it seems very probable that the capulatores were connected with the manufacture of oil.[48]

A carriage-drivers' association of Tibur is evidently referred to in an inscription at Rome (*C. I. L.* vi, 9485), which mentions the "collegium iumentariorum qui est in cisiaris Tiburtinis Herculis." These corporations had stations at the gates of towns where carriages could be hired with change of horses at each stage.[49]

A fragmentary inscription found at Rome under the tabularium, according to some authorities, has given rise to a great deal of discussion.[50] It refers to Hercules Tiburtinus and to a *statio.* The most reasonable explanation is that the inscription belonged to the *statio* of Tibur among the *stationes municipiorum* which were located near the forum and served as commercial centers for the municipia in Rome.[51]

[44] Kiepert and Huelsen, *Formæ Urbis Romæ Antiquæ*, p. 128. This reference is omitted in the otherwise exhaustive article on *capulator* in Pauly-Wissowa.

[45] Jordan-Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I^3, p. 319.

[46] Preller, *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 126.

[47] Pris. vi, 67 (Keil ii, p. 251) capis, capidis, cuius diminutivum est capidula. Capis vasis genus pontificalis. Cp. Varro L. L. v, 121.

[48] Cp. Waltzing, *op. cit.* iv, p. 85, and ii, p. 61. Waltzing believes that in the inscription from Allifæ, *sacerdotes Dianæ* is equivalent to *cultores Dianæ.* Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.* ii, p. 104, calls the capulatores workmen connected with the making of oil and wine, but gives no proof of the latter.

[49] Dill, *Op. Cit.* p. 206; Daremberg et Saglio, under *cisium*; cp. *C. I. L.* 409, 2874; x, 1064, 4660.

[50] *C. I. L.* 3552; vi, 342.

[51] Cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xvi, 236; Bull. Com. 1899, p. 242 ff.; Cantarelli, Bull. Com., 1900, pp. 124-134, has collected all the material on *stationes municipiorum.* Dessau, *C. I. L.* p. 376, believes the inscription may belong to an altar of Hercules Tiburtinus at Rome, or that the inscription may really have been found at Tibur.

One reason for the fertility of Tibur and its popularity as a location for villas is found in the abundant supply of water to be obtained in this region. The care which the government took of the water-supply is seen in the inscriptions. The Roman aqueducts which crossed the territory of Tibur were no doubt the source of much of the water used.

Frontinus, who was appointed *curator aquarum* in 97 A.D., enumerates nine aqueducts which furnished Rome with water in his time. Four of these came from the Anio Valley through the territory of Tibur—the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, the Anio Novus, and the Claudia. These four aqueducts, as can be computed from the figures furnished by Frontinus, furnished more than seven-tenths of the water brought into Rome by all the aqueducts. The Anio Vetus and the Anio Novus were noted more for the amount of water which they carried than for the quality of the water, the Anio Vetus being used mainly for irrigation. The Marcia and the Claudia, however, furnished the best of water. The Marcia[52] was especially noted for its coldness and the Claudia, said by Frontinus to be next to the Marcia in quality,[53] was used in the imperial palace on the Palatine after the time of Domitian.[54]

Frontinus in his careful and full report on Roman aqueducts names only two places in particular as having water from any of the great aqueducts before they reached the city. Within the second mile-stone from Rome water was taken from the Anio Vetus for the *horti Asiniani*. Besides this, Frontinus mentions only Tibur. In Chapter six he says: "Concipitur Anio Vetus supra Tibur vicesimo miliario extra portam. . . ubi dat in Tiburtium usum." And in Chapter sixty-six, where he gives the capacity of the Anio Vetus, he adds, "praeter eum modum qui in proprium ductum Tiburtium derivatur." Whether this water was used for irrigation, or for drinking purposes, or for both, Frontinus does not say. It seems probable, however, since the water was taken from the Anio Vetus, which was usually employed for irrigation[55] that in the case of Tibur it was also used for this purpose.

[52] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi, 41: (Aqua Marcia) mox in specus mersa in Tiburtina se aperit a viiii m. p. fornicibus structis perducta.

Propertius III, 22, 24, when he sings of the beauty of the waters of Italy, includes the Marcian Aqueduct, 'æternum Marcius umor opus,' thus showing in how great favor it was held. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi, 41: Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palma praeconio urbis Marcia est. Statius, *Silv.* i, 3, 66-67, speaks of the Marcia crossing the Anio near the villa of Vopiscus.

[53] Frontinus, *De Aquis Urbis Romæ*, 13.

[54] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Books ii, xxv.

[55] Frontinus, 92 ff.

The Tiburtine inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3676) contains regulations in regard to the use of water from an aqueduct. It prescribes the number of openings through which each user shall receive water, how large the openings shall be, and the length of time the water shall be used. This, as is pointed out by Lanciani,[56] probably refers to an irrigating aqueduct, and not to one which furnished water for household purposes. No regular aqueduct, as far as is known, distributed water by the hour to private individuals.[57]

Another inscription (*C. I. L.* 3682) at Tibur refers to a C. Terentius Valens as *praefectus rivi supernatis*. Since Terentius had also been a *quattuorvir*, a *quinquennalis*, and a *patronus municipii*, the office of *praefectus rivi supernatis* was evidently of considerable importance. The *rivus supernas* was probably the upper course of some irrigating canal from the Anio, which was often troublesome because of floods, At such times even the water in the Anio Vetus and the Anio Novus at Rome was not clear. It may be that the Tiburtines created the office of *preafectus rivi supernatis* after a period when there had been trouble with floods, and later allowed it to lapse.

A third inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3674) connected with the water supply of Tibur is that of T. Sabidius Maximus, who had among his titles *quinquennalis*, *curator fani Herculis*, *patronus municipii*, and also *tribunus aquarum*. This inscription and that found at Rome on a water pipe in 1872, are the only instances of such a title, so says Lanciani,[58] and the water pipe is hardly to be considered with the inscription from Tibur, because it is of very late date, probably of the time of the last emperors

[56] Lanciani, *Le Acque*, p. 325.

[57] An inscription (*C. I. L.* vi, 1261) found at Rome on the Aventine, but of uncertain origin, contains regulations somewhat similar to those in the Tiburtine inscription. Mommsen (*C. I. L.*, viii, pp. 448 ff.) believes that the Aventine Inscription belongs to some municipal or suburban aqueduct; and Dessau (*C. I. L.*, p. 409) notices some small points of similarity to the Tiburtine inscription, which suggest that the inscription from the Aventine may belong to Tibur. Dessau's argument, however, based on the occurrence of the name Bicoleius, which he considers a Tiburtine name, seems of little importance, for the name is found in Rome and published in Bull. dell'Inst. 1873, pp. 89 ff.; it is also on lamps found in Rome and stamped Bic. Agat. See Bull. Com., 1890, pp. 26, 228, 353, 354. De Vit, *Onomasticon*, under *Bicleia*, says the name was known to him only from the inscription at Tibur. Lanciani, *Le Acque*, p. 113, believes the Aventine inscription belongs to the Aqua Crabra at Tusculum, and it certainly fits conditions there as well as at Tibur. Cp. Frontinus, 9. Fabretti, *De Aquis et Aquaeductibus Veteris Romæ*, iii, p. 144, believes the Aventine inscription refers to Rome.

[58] Lanciani, *Le Acque*, p. 322.

of the west. It is worth while to note here a fragment of an inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3689) which might be filled out to read *Tribunus Aquarum*. The word *tribunus* occurs on the stone. The missing part may have contained the name of a cohort, but the fact that there is no suggestion of any other military title in the inscription makes the restoration, *Tribunus aquarum*, at least not improbable. Since there is no mention in connection with the water supply at Rome of any such officer as that of tribunnus aquarum, it seems safer to assign it to Tibur, particularly since the man who was *tribunus aquarum* in the Tiburtine inscription was otherwise closely connected with Tibur, having been a *quinquennalis*, a *curator fani Herculis*, and a *patronus* in the town.[59] With what water supply at Tibur this office was connected is not clear. The fact that Frontinus mentions in two places the amount of water diverted from the Anio Vetus for the use of Tibur and says nothing of any such use from the Marcia or Claudia, makes it seem doubtful whether there was one large branch from either of these aqueducts which supplied Tibur and its territory at the time of Frontinus. On the other hand, this inscription seems to point either to such a branch, or to a separate aqueduct maintained by the Tiburtines.

In this connection one other inscription given in *C. I. L.* x, 6427, under *Circei*, is to be considered. It is a fragment containing only the last part of what was seemingly a sepulchral inscription. It reads:

LEG. VII. CLAVD
CVRAT. AQVAE. TIBVRT
CIRCEIENSES
PATRONO
EX. D. D. P. P

This inscription speaks of a *curator aquae Tiburtinæ* who was evidently at some time a *patronus* of Circei. Although it seems a little strange to have the towns of Tibur and Circei connected in this way, that fact does not invalidate the testimony of the inscription in regard to an *aqua Tiburtina*;[60] and if it is remembered that *patroni* were practically always non-citizens of the place which chose them as *patroni*, it will seem less remarkable that a *patronus* of Circei was *curator* of an aqueduct at Tibur. Since Frontinus does not speak of an aqua Tiburtina in connection with the water diverted from the Anio Vetus, we may probably

[59] Henzen, Bull. dell' Inst. 1849, p. 90 ff., believes that this *tribunus aquarum* was probably an under-official of the *curator aquarum* of Rome, who needed some assistant along the lengthy course of the Roman aqueducts.

[60] Ruggiero, *op. cit*, who barely mentions this aqueduct, assigns it to Circei, but it is quite improbable that it belonged to any place other than Tibur.

see in this inscription proof of an aqueduct at Tibur which carried better water than that obtainable from the Anio Vetus. It is plain that the villas in the district of Tibur had an abundant supply of the best water, and it seems hardly probable that there was not some main aqueduct to supply the town and the nearest villas, especially those which did not lie along the course of the Marcia or Claudia.

The fifth inscription is plainly connected with the great Roman aqueducts. Frontinus in his account of the care of the aqueducts names the different classes of officials and workmen who had charge of them; one of these classes was the *circitores*, or inspectors. Frontinus says that it was necessary that some of the big body of caretakers should be men outside of the city for things which were not great undertakings in themselves, but which needed prompt attention.[61] The Tiburtine inscription (*C. I. L.* 3649) gives a list of *circitores* and *decani*, the latter of which were evidently overseers. After the name of each *circitor* it is stated whether or not he had sons and if so, how many and whether they also were *circitores*, or were *adcrescentes*. For example:

Surus circit. sine filiis

Constantius circit. hab filium Pascasium circit.

Maurus circitor hab. fil. II Peregrinum et Laurentium adcrescentes.

The wording of the inscription indicates that the office was hereditary.[62]

To sum up, it is seen that Tibur was well supplied with water for irrigation; that it obtained water from the Anio Vetus; that it almost certainly had either an independent aqueduct of its own, or a large branch aqueduct from the Marcia or Claudia; and that a part of the caretakers of the Roman aqueducts were Tiburtines.

PATRONI MUNICIPII

(The first line below the name contains the principal Roman offices held by the *patronus*, the second line the Tiburtine offices, the third line the name of the dedicators mentioned in the inscription.)

1. M. Acilius M. f. Gal. Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus
   Cos. 152 A.D.
   QQ. Designatus
   S. P. Q. Tiburs (*C. I. L.* 4237)
2. P. Ælius Coeranus
   Procos. Frater Arvalis 213 and 214 A.D.

[61] Frontinus 117.

[62] Dessau, Ann. dell'Inst., 1882, pp. 130 ff., compares with this inscription two fragments, one found in *C. I. L.* ix, 2998, the other published by himself in this article He uses the inscriptions, especially the Tiburtine one, as proof of the hereditary character of many occupations and offices in the fourth century.

IIIIvir. Iur. Dic., Flamen Dialis Tib.
Decuriones Tiburtes (*C. I. L.* 3586)

3. C. Aemilius C. f. Fab. Antoninus
Eques Romanus
QQ., Cur. Fani Herc. Vict., Pontifex (*C. I. L.* 3650)

4. Aurelius Zoticus
c. 231 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3611)

5. T. Clodius M. f. Pupienus Pulcher Maximus
Cos. Suff.
— — — ——
S. P. Q. T. (*C. I. L.* 3593)

6. Q. Hortensius Q. f. Col. Faustinus
Advocatus Fisci
Præf. Fabr.
L. D. S. C. 172 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3643)

7. Musonius Iulius Antullus
199 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 4254)

8. M. Lurius M. f. Palat. Lucretianus
——— — — —
QQ.
Tiburtes Municipes L. D. S. C. 184 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3663)

9. L. Minicius L. f. Gal. Natalis Quadronius Verus.
Procos. 139 A.D.
Curat. Fani Herc. V., QQ. Maximi Exempli
Decuriones Tiburt. (*C. I. L.* 3599)

10. P. Mummius P. f. Gal. Sisenna Rutilianus
Procos.
Cur. Fani H. V. Salius
Senatus Populusq. Tiburs (*C. I. L.* 4244)
Herculanii Augustales 172 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3601)

11. Q. Pompeius Q. f. Quir. Senecio, etc.
Procos. 169 A.D.
Q. Q., Salius, Curator Fani H. V.
S. P. Q. T. (*C. I. L.* 3609)

12. C. Popilius C. f. Quir. Carus Pedo
Cos. Suff. 148
Curator Maximi Exempli
Senatus P. Q. Tiburs (*C. I. L.* 3610)

13. C. Porcius C. f. Quir. Priscus Longinus
Procos. Frater Arvalis 231 A.D.
— — — — — —
Senatus Tiburs (*C. I. L.* 3611)

14. T. Sabiduis T. f. Pal. Maximus
– – – – – – – – –
Pontifex, Salius, Curator Fani Herculis V., Tribunus Aquarum, Q.Q.
Locus sepulturae datus voluntate populi decreto senatus Tiburtium
(*C. I. L.* 3674)

15. C. Terentius Valens
———————

IIIIvir Ædilicia Pot., Præf. Q.Q., Præf. Rivi Supern., (*C. I. L.* 3682)

16. M. Tullius M. f. Cam. Blæsus

Pontifex, Cur. Fan. H. V., Salius
L. D. S. C. (*C. I. L.* 4258)

17. ——— ———

IIIIvir., Herc. Aug.
S. C. (*C. I. L.* 3690)

18. ——— ———

[viivir Ep]ulonum
Q. Q. Desi[gnatus] (*C. I. L.* 4247)

For a list of quinquennales, see the list of patroni, nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 18, and the two following:

1. C. Mænius C. f. Cam. Bassus
Ædilis IIIIvir, Mag. Herculaneus et Augustalis c. 37 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3665)

2. . . . . pianus Sex. f. Arn.
IIIIvir ædilis, IIIIvir iur. dic. IIIIvir quinquennalis, quæstor IIII
c. 185 A.D. (*C. I. L.* 3581)

CHAPTER IV

The Cults of Tibur

The great god of Tibur was Hercules. To such an extent did his worship overshadow that of all other gods that the town was often called *Herculeum Tibur*,[1] and often referred to as the hills or walls of Hercules.[2] The splendid temple of the god was even placed before the falls of the Anio when Tibur's fame was recounted,[3] and the whole town was said to be sacred to him.[4]

From inscriptions we glean a few bits of information in regard to the tradition of Hercules at Tibur—information which is the more precious because the literary tradition has been to a great extent absorbed and colored by Rome. An inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3555) records a dedication made to Jupiter Præstes by Hercules Victor. During the early part of the empire this dedication was restored by Blandus, who was a Roman prætor at the time, but who was by origin a Tiburtine.[5] Evidently there was a tradition that Hercules in his wanderings through Italy visited Tibur and consecrated an altar to Jupiter. The tradition must also have contained some reference to a contest or struggle of some sort to account for the name Victor.

There is a mass of literary tradition to account for Hercules in Latium, and this has usually been connected with Rome. According to a common story, when Hercules returning from the expedition in which he obtained the oxen of Geryon stopped at Rome, Cacus stole some of his cattle and dragged them off backward into a cave on the Aventine. After Hercules found his cattle and slew the robber, he erected an altar to his father, Jupiter Inventor. Evander established for Hercules, or, according to another and probably later version, Hercules established for himself, in the Forum Boarium, where his cattle had grazed, an altar called the *Ara Maxima*, at which the inhabitants of the place in gratitude for their deliverance from Cacus sacrificed to Hercules Victor.[6] Another tradi-

[1] Mart. iv, 62, 1; Prop. ii, 32, 5.

[2] Mart. vii, 13, 3; iv, 57, 9; Sil. Ital. iv, 224. Cp. Mart. i, 12, 1: Herculeas gelidi Tiburis arces.

[3] Strabo v, 3, 11: Τίβουρα μέν ἡ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, καὶ ὁ καταράκτης, ὃν ποιεῖ πλωτὸς ὢν ὁ Ἀνίων κτλ. Cp. Juv. *Sat.* xiv, 90.

[4] Pliny quoted by Suet. Calig. 8. Cp. Steph. Byz. p. 415, 21.

[5] Tac. *Ann.* vi, 27; xiv, 22.

[6] For a full account of the variations of the Hercules-Cacus myth, see J. G. Winter, University of Michigan Studies, 1910, pp. 171 ff.

tion accounts for Hercules' name of Victor in a different way. Servius (*Æn.* viii, 363) tells the story of Marcus Octavius Hersennus, who was in his youth a flute-player. He later laid aside this art and engaged in commerce; and when his business prospered, he dedicated a tithe to Hercules. Afterwards, while on a journey over the seas, he was attacked by pirates over whom, after a brave struggle, he gained the victory. He was advised by Hercules in a dream that this victory had been gained by the help of the god. Accordingly, Hersennus dedicated a temple and a statue to Hercules, on which he had the word *Victor* placed. Macrobius (*Sat.* iii, 6, 10 ff.) gives the same account, except that the name of M. Octavius Hersennus, which Servius gives, is changed to M. Octavius Herrenus. Servius and Macrobius plainly had a common source for their account, probably the Masurius Sabinus from the second book of whose *Memorabilia* Macrobius quotes.[7]

One point in connection with Rome stands out clearly—i. e., that the *Ara Maxima* was a very early centre for the worship of Hercules. The Cacus story seems to be plainly connected with Rome, whether as an ætiological myth or otherwise, because of the localities so often mentioned, the cave of Cacus on the Aventine, and the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium. The Hersennus tradition, however, probably belongs to Tibur, not to Rome. There is nothing in it to localize it in Rome, and the name Hersennus points to Tibur. There was an Octavius Hersennius, who, according to Macrobius,[8] wrote a book, *De Sacris Saliaribus Tiburtium*, in which the acts of the salii of Hercules were set forth. Moreover, the Hersennus story fits the character of a god of trade, under which form the worship of Hercules entered Latium and was established at Tibur.[9]

It has often been assumed that the worship of Hercules was taken from Rome to Tibur. The opposite, however, seems to be the case. The latest investigations have rather definitely decided that Hercules was originally a Greek god whose worship was in very early times brought from Greek sources in southern Italy along the lines of trade up into

[7] Both Servius and Macrobius also give Varro's opinion from the fourth book of his *Divinæ* that Hercules was called Victor because he had conquered all kinds of animals.

[8] Mac. *Sat.* iii, 12. Macrobius adds that Antonius Gnipho, a learned man to whose school Cicero used to resort after the toil of the forum, proved in a certain book of his that there were salii of Hercules. Evidently the salii of Hercules were puzzling even in Macrobius' time.

[9] For Hercules as connected with journeys, especially commercial ones, see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Roemer* (2nd ed.) p. 279, with references.

Latium.[10] Tibur, which is connected with Greek tradition in its foundation, was one of the chief points on these trade routes. The worship of Hercules as the god of trade was established here in the midst of Greek influences. Later his worship was taken to Rome. The cult had, however, become so naturalized that when it was introduced into Rome it was accepted as Roman, and the Ara Maxima was established inside the pomoërium, a location which would have been denied to the altar of the Greek Hercules, if he had been brought to Rome direct. The acceptance of the priority of Tibur in the worship of Hercules, and his long residence there, will explain his presence in Rome among the Roman gods.

The much greater relative importance of Hercules at Tibur than at Rome also points to his having been first a Tiburtine god. A comparison of the names given to Jupiter by Hercules, Præstes at Tibur and Inventor at Rome, is a further indication of the earlier date of the cult at Tibur, as Wissowa[11] points out. The same scholar believes that the Pinarii and the Potitii, so closely connected with the early worship of Hercules in Rome, were probably both Tiburtine families originally. There is a suggestion of some connection between the Pinarii and Tibur in an inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3604) found at Tibur, erected to Cnæus Pinarius Severus, a salius Collinus in the time of Trajan.[12] Any decisive proof, however, of the Tiburtine origin of the families is lacking.

An inscription at Tibur (*C. I. L.*, 3541), which dates at least before 45 B. C. as shown by the fact that the dedicator was a censor, marks an offering to Hercules from a tithe rendered the second time—*decuma facta iterum*. This custom of offering tithes to Hercules was therefore common to Tibur and Rome, and in keeping with his character as a god of trade. At Rome, where the greater number of instances makes the history more easily followed, it is plain that at first tithes were offered both by successful generals and prosperous individuals. The custom, however, fell into disuse as far as the successful general was concerned during the second century B. C., although soldiers returning from war still made their offerings to Hercules Victor.[13] The practice at Tibur of offering a public tithe to Hercules, as recorded in the inscription mentioned, would more naturally belong to the early independent days of the town than to its history as a municipium.

[10] Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 272; Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 230 ff.; Carter, *Religion of Numa*, p. 32.

[11] *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 273.

[12] Cp. *C. I. L.* 4246.

[13] Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, pp. 149-150.

Whether the tithe practice was of Greek origin or was an Italian institution which was joined to the worship of the Greek Hercules after his appearance on Italian territory is still to be settled. The possibility of Phœnician and Semitic influence is also to be dealt with.[14]

Even if the tithe practice was pure Greek, as Wissowa believes, the same cannot be said of the salii who were priests of Hercules at Tibur. The salii are known preëminently as the priests of Mars, who was an early Italian god. The priesthood is commonly considered an early Italian institution, and grouped with other priesthoods of the *di indigetes* of Rome.[15] How then did the salii come to be associated with Hercules, who was of Greek origin? On the whole it seems most probable that the Greek god Hercules at Tibur took over some of the characteristics of Mars and with them his priests. The almost total lack of the cult of Mars at Tibur makes this seem the more likely. Among the inscriptions of Tibur there is but one dedication—a small and unimportant one—to Mars;[16] and no reference in literature connects the god with the place.

It may be that the salii of Hercules were taken to Rome together with the worship of the god, and that Vergil's reference to salii at the Ara Maxima in the time of Evander represents a true state of affairs.[17] If this be true, it may have been due to the presence of Mars and the salii of Mars that the salii as priests of Hercules were dropped either at the time of the change of the Hercules cult at Rome from *sacra privata* to *sacra publica* during the censorship of Appius Claudius, or earlier.

Some connection between Mars and Hercules is often suggested. Servius (*Æn.* viii, 285) says that there were salii of Mars and of Hercules because the Chaldæans said that the star of Mars was also that of Hercules. Macrobius (*Sat.* iii, 12) states that Mars and Hercules were considered the same by the pontifices and by Varro in his *Saturæ Menippeæ*, and that the Chaldæans called Mars' star the star of Hercules.[18] Whether there was any general thought of connection between Hercules and Mars in very early times such as would have influenced the state of affairs in

[14] For the theory of a Greek origin, see Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 279. For theories in regard to other origins, see Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 243; Winter, *l. c.*, p. 261 ff.

[15] Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 19; Helbig, *Sur les Attributs des Saliens*, p. 9 [213]; Daremberg et Saglio, under *Salii*, pp. 1016-1017.

[16] *C. I. L.* 3563.

[17] Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 275.

[18] Cp. Arist. *De Mundo* 2: Εἰθ' ὁ πυρόεις Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἄρεος προσαγορευόμενος Plin. *N. H.* ii, 34; Apul. *De Mundo*, 293; Hyginus, *Astron. Poet.* ii, 42; cp. Serv. *Æn.* viii, 275.

Tibur is doubtful, but with our present knowledge of the whole question of Hercules in Italy it seems probable that the salii, an Italian priesthood, was joined with the worship of the Greek Hercules at Tibur because of some connection between that god and Mars. Later this worship was carried to Rome, perhaps by the Potitii and Pinarii.

But it is time now to turn to a more direct analysis of evidences of the Hercules cult in Tibur. The inscription already referred to (*C. I. L.*, 3541), which records the tithe offered to Hercules, and two others,[19] one of which is of rather doubtful reading, are the only ones in which the name of Hercules occurs without any other designation. The usual designation of the god in Tibur was Hercules Victor. There are thirteen inscriptions which so refer to him.[20] Three give the title Hercules Invictus, or Invictus Hercules.[21] There is one inscription each for the names Hercules Tiburtinus (*C. I. L.*, 3552), Hercules Tiburtinus Victor (*C. I. L.*, 3554), Hercules Victor Certencinus (*C. I. L.*, 3553), Hercules Domesticus (*C. I. L.*, 3542), and Hercules Saxanus (*C. I. L.*, 3543). The first two of these are easily understood as variations of the usual title. For the term Certencinus there is no satisfactory explanation. Dessau suggests that it may be from the name of some place. The dedication to Hercules Domesticus is on a base of Parian marble which had held a statue of Hercules larger than life size, as can be told from the marks of the feet and parts of the club and lion skin which are still to be seen.[22] By means of this inscription the villa of T. Ælius Ruber has been located. Evidently Hercules was here worshipped as the god of the home.[23]

The inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3543) which records the dedication to Hercules Saxanus of a temple which Servius Sulpicius Trophimus restored from the foundation has caused a great deal of discussion. Most of the inscriptions which contain the name of Hercules Saxanus have been found on votive tablets set up in stone quarries in Germany, especially

[19] Papers of the British School at Rome iii, p. 115 (Eph. Ep. ix, p. 469); *C. I. L.* 3571.

[20] *C. I. L.* 3544, 3546, 3547, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3555, 3599, 3601, 3609, 3650, 3674, 4257. The inscription given in Not. Scav. 1894, p. 283, a dedication by P. Fulcinius Marcellus to Hercules Victor may belong to Tibur, but it is not known where it was found.

[21] *C. I. L.* 3545, 3548, 4234.

[22] Papers of the British School at Rome iii, p. 195.

[23] For Hercules in this same character cp. Wissowa, *R. K.*, p. 281; De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato* i, p. 166. No other occurrence of the name *Domesticus*, however, is cited.

in the valley of the Brohl.[24] Besides these inscriptions from Germany, there are but two which contain the name of Hercules Saxanus—the Tiburtine inscription and one from Tridentum (*C. I. L.*, v, 5013). From this it has been argued that the word Saxanus is German in origin, that the votive tablets were set up by Germans serving in the Roman army, and that Hercules Saxanus was a German god whose worship was carried into Italy. However, the early date of this Tiburtine inscription, at least before 79 A.D., as Dessau proves, seems to refute this theory. The fact that on some of the votive offerings the name of Hercules Saxanus is found coupled with that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and that on others the names of Hercules Barbatus and Hercules Invictus occur is further proof that Hercules Saxanus was an Italian, not a German, god.[25] Since he was worshiped in stone quarries, it was especially fitting that he should have a temple in the region of the great travertine quarries of Tibur.

An interesting marble relief was found in 1902 in the ruins which are usually conceded to be those of the temple of Hercules. The relief shows a standing figure of a bearded Hercules clad in an ample tunic which falls to his feet, and the sleeves of which are long. A double girdle confines the tunic slightly at the waist. The right hand of the god rests on his club; the left arm, from which the hand is broken, is slightly extended. Over his head and shoulders is the lion's skin, the claws of which are knotted on his chest. The figure is broad and heavy, rather than vigorous in appearance. Because this representation of Hercules was found in the supposed ruins of his temple, Borsari (Not. Scav. 1902, p. 120) believes it may represent the type of Hercules Victor worshipped at Tibur. Gatti (Bull. Com. 1902, pp. 211 ff.) suggests that it may be possible to attribute to this relief the designation of Hercules Tunicatus which Pliny uses in describing a statue which stood in the forum near the rostra.[26] The description seems to fit remarkably well, but in the absence of any inscription, or definite information, no decision can be reached.

[24] There are twenty-one, or possibly twenty-three, counting two doubtful readings, of the inscriptions to Hercules Saxanus found in Germany: *C. I. L.* xiii, 4623-4625; 7697-7712; 7716-7720.

[25] For a discussion of the nationality of Hercules Saxanus with references see: Pauly-Wissowa viii, p. 610; Preller, Roem. Myth. ii, p. 297, n. 3; Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 284, n. 4; Peter, Roscher's Lexikon i, 3014 ff.

[26] Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv, 93: In mentione statuarum est et una non praetereunda quamquam auctoris incerti iuxta rostra, Herculis tunicati, sola eo habitu Romæ, torva facie sentiensque suprema tunicae. Cp. Daremberg et Saglio, v, p. 127 and n. 9.

The temple of Hercules at Tibur was the most important temple of the god in Italy. The size and magnificence of the building is shown to some extent by the existing ruins, which are generally identified as those which were for so long called the Villa of Mæcenas.[27] This temple was sometimes compared to the famous temple of Hercules at Gades.[28]

Tutela Rhodos est beata Solis
Gades Herculis umidumque Tibur.[29]

When in Statius' poem (*Silv.* iii, 1, 182 ff.) Hercules is supposed to thank Pollius for a temple which the latter had built for him at Surrentum, he says that not Nemee Argos, *Tiburna domus* (the temple at Tibur) or Gades shall be preferred to it.

The library in connection with the temple has already been discussed. The treasure of the temple is spoken of by Appian (*B. C.* v, 24), who tells of Octavianus taking money, with which to carry on war, from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from the temples at Antium, at Lanuvium, at Nemus (Nemi), at Tibur. Appian adds that in his time an abundant treasure of sacred money was still kept in these temples. In the inscription *C. I. L.* 3679, permission is granted to C. Sextilius Ephebus to place a marble base under the treasury of Hercules, or, as mentioned in a second place in the inscription, the treasury of Hercules and Augustus. Dessau believes that this refers to a base which supported some sort of a metal receptacle for contributions for the temple, and which was probably located in front of, or at least near the temple.[30] The view seems reasonable, inasmuch as a base *sub thensauro* in the sense of a part of the temple is hard to understand, and other uses of *thensaurus* in the sense of a receptacle for contributions are noted by Dessau.

The cult of the emperors which was established in most of the towns of Italy was at Tibur combined with that of Hercules. The inscription noted above shows this; it speaks in one place of the treasury of Hercules, and in another of that of Hercules and Augustus, or of Hercules and the Augusti. The counterpart of the Augustales in other towns was at Tibur the Herculanei Augustales. It is therefore plain that the worship of the emperor was combined with that of Hercules, but it is a noticeable fact that the temple is always spoken of as the temple of Hercules Victor, with the exception just noted of the treasury. The

[27] Dessau. Ann. dell'Inst. 1882, p. 127; Borsari, Not. Scav. 1887, pp. 25-27.

[28] Strabo iii, 5, 3 ff. tells of the Gades temple. Pomponius Mela iii, 46: In altero (cornu) templum Aegypcii Herculis conditoribus, religione, vetustate, opibus inlustre.

[29] Priapea LXXV, 8-9.

[30] Dessau, Ann. dell'Inst. 1882, pp. 116 ff.

curators who were appointed for the care of the temple are always called *curatores fani Herculis Victoris*. These curators were appointed each year by the quattuorviri, and had charge of the sacrifices, the lectisternia, and the games, but did not perform the priestly functions.[31] Of the twelve curators mentioned in inscriptions at Tibur,[32] six were Roman nobles, and all but one of them had also been patroni of the town. Of the remaining six, four[33] were Romans, one of whom was also a patronus. Of the two[34] curators who were Tiburtines, one was a patronus. From this it is seen that the office of *curator fani Herculis Victoris* was given to men of high position, usually to non-citizens, and that very often the same man had been patronus and curator.[35]

The Herculanei Augustales were members of a college, the object of which was the care of the worship of Hercules and the Roman emperor. The same combination of the worship of Augustus and Hercules is indicated by inscriptions at Grumentum.[36] Only one inscription at Tibur refers to the election of a Herculaneus Augustalis, but it indicates that at Tibur as elsewhere in the case of the more usual Augustales the election was in the hands of the local senate.[37] The majority of the Herculanei Augustales, as seen from inscriptions, were of the freedman class, and none of them were of senatorial or equestrian rank.[38] Excluded from the senate by their servile birth, they seem to have taken great pride in holding the office which was permitted to them. Officers of the college

[31] Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.), i, p. 173.

[32] *C. I. L.* 3599, 3600, 3601, 3609, 4242, 4244.

[33] *C. I. L.* 3544, 3650, 3673, 3689.

[34] *C. I. L.* 3674, 4258.

[35] The fragmentary inscription, *C. I. L.* 4257, has been restored to read *aeditui Herculis Victoris*, and would thus refer to another office connected with the temple. The restoration is, however, uncertain. Dessau, *C. I. L.*, p. 495, believes the inscription refers to a *collegium aedituorum Herculis*.

[36] *C. I. L.* X, 230, 231.

[37] *C. I. L.* 3657; cp. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* (1881 ed.) i, p. 203. For Augustales in general, see Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 215 ff.; cp. Petronius *Sat.* 30, 2; 57, 6; 65; 5. For the relation between Augustales and seviri Augustales, see Pauly-Wissowa under *Augustales*; and Waltzing, *op. cit.* i, pp. 38 ff. The absence of any mention of a sevir Augustalis in the numerous Tiburtine inscriptions indicates that there were no seviri at Tibur.

[38] Cp. Schol. Hor. *Sat.* ii, 3, 281: Erant autem libertini sacerdotes qui Augustales dicebantur. The Herculanei Augustales mentioned in the following inscriptions were plainly freedmen: *C. I. L.* 3540, 3651, 3652, 3658, 3661, 3679, 3681, 3684 (l. 4), 3687, 3688, 4254. Uncertain: *C. I. L.* 3561, 3633, 3656, 3690, 3691. Freeborn: *C. I. L.* 315, 3665, 3680, 3684, Eph. Ep. ix, 903.

called magistri are frequently mentioned in inscriptions.[39] Two brief inscriptions (*C. I. L.*, 3547, 3550) mention *magistri Herculis Victoris*, if the abbreviations are read correctly. By this term *magistri Herculaneorum Augustalium* were probably meant. Besides the magistri as officers of the college, there were also curators (*C. I. L.*, 3675, 3679) and quæstors (*C. I. L.*, 3601, 3675), although these appear less often in inscriptions. One inscription seems to refer to a patronus of the college.[40] Inscription *C. I. L.*, 3601, gives the only instance of the term *ordo Augustalium Tiburtium* for the usual *Herculanei Augustales*. The two terms occur in the one inscription, and plainly refer to the same body.

A later college, the *Iuvenes Antoniniani Herculanii*, is mentioned in inscription *C. I. L.*, 3638, and the same organization is probably referred to in *C. I. L.*, 3684, where the term *ædilis iuvenum Tiburi* is used. This college originating in the time of the Antonines, as its name indicates, never seems to have assumed any special importance.[41]

The salii at Tibur have already been discussed. It only remains here to note that, like those at Rome, they seem to have been of high birth. Of the seven salii[42] mentioned in inscriptions, six were *curatores fani Herculis*, who, as has been seen, came from the noble class. They were often, but not always, non-citizens.[43]

Before taking up the other gods of Tibur and their priests, it may be well to mention the public priests, the pontifices and augurs, who were not connected with any one of the gods in particular. Three inscriptions[44] give information in regard to pontifices, each of whom had been a *curator fani Herculis*; one was a Roman knight, and one plainly a Tiburtine. The augurs, found in two inscriptions (*C. I. L.*, 3672, 3673), were, like the pontifices, of good position, since one was a salius, and a *curator fani Herculis*, and the other a quattuorvir.

[39] *C. I. L.* 3540, 3652, 3665, 3681, 3687, 3688, 4254, Eph. Ep. IX, 903, 904.

[40] Papers Brit. School at Rome iii, p. 122—Eph. Ep. ix, 904. The *duplicarius gratis creatus* of *C. I. L.* 3656, may refer to this college.

[41] See Eph. Ep. ix, 908, for a fragment of an inscription, a probable restoration of which is *iuvenum Herculaneorum*.

[42] *C. I. L.* 3601, 3609, 3612, 3673, 3674, 3689, 4258. *C. I. L.* 3682 and Eph. Ep. ix, 912, are doubtful. For references on a relief which shows the figures of Tiburtine salii, see Marquardt *Roem. Staatsverw.* (2nd ed.) iii, p. 431, n. 4; cp. Helbig, *op. cit.* p. 12 [216]; Daremberg et Saglio, p. 1020, n. 5.

[43] The oracles which are by some supposed to have been given out from the temple Hercules will be discussed under Albunea.

[44] *C. I. L.* 3650, 3674, 4258.

The god next to Hercules in importance at Tibur was Albunea, or Albula, who was the nymph of the sulphurous waters of Aquae Albulae, and later the Sibyl of Tibur. The name Albunea is easily explained from the white deposit left by the water on the edges of the lakes. The name Leukothea was for the same reason sometimes applied to the nymph.[45] In a grove near the Aquae Albulae, either the lakes in which the waters rise or the short course through which they flow to empty into the Anio, was the oracle of Faunus, which was consulted in times of uncertainty by all the Italian race.[46] It was to this oracle that Latinus, king of the Latins, went when he was troubled by the portents in regard to his daughter Lavinia, who was betrothed to Turnus, but was destined by fate for Æneas. Vergil tells how Latinus made his offering of a hundred sheep and then resting upon their fleeces he slept until in the silence of the night he heard a voice from the depths of the grove crying: "Wed not thy daughter to a Latin prince,"[47] etc. From Vergil's account of the sulphurous exhalations of the water, *saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*, and the comments of Servius it is plain that the fumes kept in by thick woods around the place had some effect on the sleeper who sought advice from the oracle.

That there were other sulphurous springs in Latium is known from Vitruvius, who mentions particularly this one near Tibur, and another near Ardea.[48] On this authority doubtless Probus in his comment on Vergil, *Georg.* i, 10, places Albunea and the oracle of Faunus in the groves of Laurentium, i. e., near Ardea.[49] Probus plainly made a mistake, for all other references to Albunea and the oracle of Faunus indicate that

[45] Serv. *Æn.* vii, 83.

[46] *Æn.* vii, 81 ff.:

> At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni,
> Fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta
> Consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
> Fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim.
> Hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
> In dubiis responsa petunt . . . . .

[47] Verg. *Æn.* vii, 92 ff.

[48] Vitr. viii, 3, 2: In Tiburtina via Albula et in Ardeatino fontes frigidi eodem odore, qui sulphurati dicuntur; et reliquis locis similibus.

[49] The authority of Probus is followed by Bormann, *Altlat. Chorogr.* pp. 49 ff., who objects to locating the oracle at Aquae Albulae because of the notably fine air of Tibur, the quiet character of the water which would not fit the *fonte sonat* of Vergil, the lack of woods around the place (the grove mentioned by Mart. i, 12, he believes consisted of cultivated trees), and because of Horace's statement that Albunea was near the falls of the Anio.

they were in the region of Tibur near Aquae Albulae. Servius *Æn.* vii, 83, says, "in Tiburtinis altissimis montibus"; and this view is supported by Martial, Statius, and the scholiast on Horace.[50]

From the connection with Faunus and the oracles Albunea, who was probably thought of at first merely as a nymph, became an oracle-giving nymph, and later, when the cult of the Sibyls came into Latium, she became a Sibyl. In Vergil, *Æn.* viii, 335 ff. Albunea is to be identified with the mother of Evander, who gives him warnings and is called Carmentis because, as Servius says, ancient prophets or soothsayers were commonly so-called.[51] Servius adds that she was also called Nicostrata, but he identifies her as the Tiburtine nymph by saying that others called her *Tiburs*.

Lactantius counts Albunea as the tenth Sibyl, and says that she was worshipped at Tibur on the banks of the Anio, in the whirlpool of which stream a statue of the Sibyl was said to have been found holding a book in her hand. According to Lactantius her prophecies were taken to Rome to the Capitol,[52] supposedly to be incorporated in the Sibylline books. The statue ofwhich Lactantius speaks seems to point to some tradition, probably the same as that suggested by Tibullus when he says that the Sibyl carried her sacred prophecies through the stream without allowing them to be touched by the water.[53] Lactantius' reference to the image of the goddess being found in the whirlpool of the river, and the presence of the "Temple of the Sibyl" at Tibur indicate that the worship of Albunea was transferred from Aquae Albulae to the town of Tibur near the falls of the Anio, or that she was worshipped in both places. Horace's words, *domus Albuneæ resonantis*, probably refer to this seat of the Sibyl near the falls of the Anio.[54] The slight falls that there may have been in the channel, through which the waters of the

[50] Mart. i, 12, 1 ff.: Itur ad Herculeas gelidi qua Tiburis arces Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis. Schol. Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 12: Albuneam deam esse in regione Tiburtina fontis praesidem, etc. Stat. *Silv.* i, 3, 74-75, plainly connects Albula with Tiburnus, illa recubat Tiburnus in umbra Illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines. Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 211, n. 4, doubts the reality of this oracle described by Vergil.

[51] For the many forms of the Carmentis (Carmenta) legend, see Wissowa, Roscher's Lexikon, under *Carmentis*.

[52] Lactant. i, 6, 12.

[53] Tib. ii, 5, 69: Quasque Aniena sacras Tiburs per flumina sortes Portarit sicco pertuleritque sinu; cp. K. F. Smith's Tibullus, note on this passage.

[54] Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 10-14: Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon Nec tam Larissae percussit campus opimae Quam domus Albuneae resonantis Et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

lakes of Aquae Albulae passed to the Anio, could hardly account for Horace's words, as Woerner (Roscher's Lexikon) thinks probable.

It is possible that the oracles of the Sibyl, whether they were given out at Aquae Albulae or at Tibur, were kept in the great temple of Hercules, which with its big treasury and numerous priests and curators elected by the state doubtless served as a sort of Capitoline temple for Tibur. This would probably account for Statius'[55] reference to the oracles of the temple of Hercules. It seems quite improbable that oracles were sought from Hercules himself, because his worship at Tibur is so often mentioned in literature and inscriptions that oracles, if they had been given by Hercules, would in all probability have been spoken of in other places in addition to this one passage in Statius.[56]

It was very natural that the healing waters of the Aquae Albulae should be deified, and some confusion between them and Albunea might have been expected.[57] For example. Statius (*Silv.* i, 3, 75) gives the name Albula to Albunea, and a fragmentary inscription (Eph. Ep. ix, 927) refers with great probability to the goddess as Albula.[58] There are three dedications to Aquae Albulae among the inscriptions,[59] in one case to *Aquae Albulae sanctissimae.* In a fourth inscription the waters are addressed as Lymfa.[60]

Besides Albunea another god peculiar to Tibur was Tiburnus, the founder of the town. Inscriptions do not mention him, but, according to Horace, his sacred grove was somewhere near the falls of the Anio:

. . . domus Albuneæ resonantis
Et præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus . . .[61]

[55] Stat. *Silv.* i, 3, 79 ff.: Quod ni templa darent alias Tirynthia sortes Et Prænestinæ poterant migrare sorores.

[56] See Eph. Ep. ix, 898, for a fragment of an inscription which reads *delanei H. V. sortiar* and which is by some scholars thought to point to the oracles of Hercules. Not. Scav. 1902, p. 120. Preller, Roem. Myth. ii, 139, says that the oracles of Albunea which were later taken to Rome were kept in the temple of Hercules, but he gives no proof or argument to support his statement.

[57] There are other cases of the deification of springs or baths. For example, the *Aquae Aponi* near Patavium. For references see Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafica,* under *Aquae Aponi* and *Aponius.* Also the *Aquae Celenae* in Spain. See Ruggiero, *op. cit.* under *Aquae Celenae.* Cp. the *Aquae Sulis* (*Bath,* England) the waters of which were sacred to *dea Sulis Minerva.* See Ruggiero, *op. cit. Aquae Sulis.*

[58] For an interesting restoration of this inscription, see Oesterr. Jahresh. ix, 1906, Beibl. p. 55. Fiorelli, Not. Scav. 1887, p. 153, thought that the fragment of the inscription *C. I. L.* 4262, might refer to Albunea.

[59] *C. I. L.* 3908, 3909, 3910.

[60] *C. I. L.* 3911. See *Aquae Albula* in Chapter I.

[61] Hor. *Od.* i, 7, 13.

Suetonius in his life of Horace says that the poet lived near the grove of Tiburnus, *circa Tiburni luculum.*[62] Statius (*Silv.* i, 3, 74) seems to identify Tiburnus with the god of the river Anio.[63]

Evidence of the worship of Jupiter at Tibur is found in the large altar, previously mentioned, which Hercules is supposed to have erected to Jupiter Præstes, and which was restored in the early empire by Blandus. With this altar is said to have been found a statue of Hercules with bended knee worshipping Jupiter.[64] Another altar is dedicated to Jupiter Custos (*C. I. L.*, 3557),[65] and a third small one to Jupiter Territor, a title which is found applied to Jupiter only in this Tiburtine inscription.[66] That some importance was attached to the cult of Jupiter is shown by the mention of a *flamen Dialis Tiburtinus* in an inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3586) which dates in the first part of the third century A.D. A comparison of this date with the early tradition which connects Jupiter with the coming of Hercules shows that the cult was of long duration.

That the cult of Juno at Tibur went back to the time of the founding of the town is suggested by the name Argeia applied to her in the inscription *C. I. L.*, 3556. This name recalls at once Horace's *Argeo positum colono* (*Od.* ii, 6, 5), and the *Tibur Argeum* of Ovid (*Am.* iii, 6, 46). The fact that this dedication was made by Blandus after he had restored the altar to Jupiter Præstes shows, as Wissowa[67] well observes, no connection between the worship of Jupiter and Juno at Tibur, but only a care on the part of Blandus for the altars of the town from which his family came. Servius (*Æn.* i, 17) tells of a Juno cult at Tibur in which the goddess was

[62] Suet. (Reiff.), p. 47.

[63] Cp. Preller, *Roem. Myth.* ii, p. 139 (3rd ed.). An attempt to derive the name of Catillus from *catus* and thus connect him with Catius, the old Roman divinity seems to rest on little foundation. However, the connection of Catillus with Amphiaraus and Evander seems to have given him a prophet-like character. Cp. Roscher, Lexikon under *Catillus*; Pauly-Wissowa, under *Catillus*; Franz Ehrlich, *Mittelitalien Land u. Leute in der Aeneide Vergils*, Program des K. Gymnasiums Eichstaat 1891-2.

[64] Cabral and Del Re, *Delle Ville e de' piu' Notabili Monumenti Antichi di Tivoli*, p. 11, make this report on the authority of the manuscript of Zappi. For other dedications to Jupiter Præstes, see *C. I. L.* iii, 4037; ix, 1498. Cp. Macr. *Sat.* i, 18, 17: Idem versus Εὐβουλῆα vocantes boni consilii hunc deum præstitem monstrant. Cp. Ovid. *Fasti*, v, 133 ff.

[65] Cp. *C. I. L.* vi, 376; xiv, 8795. Coins of Nero, Galba, and Domitian bear the name of Jupiter Custos. Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies Imperiales*, viii, p. 398. Cp. Hor. *Od.* i, 12, 49; Stat. *Silv.* iii, 4, 100, quoted by Carter, *Epitheta Deorum*, Supplement to Roscher's *Lexikon.*

[66] Roscher, *Lexikon* ii, p. 752; Bull. dell'Inst. 1849, p. 94.

[67] *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 273, n. 1.

worshipped as Iuno Curritis (Curitis): "Sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtibus constat ubi sic precantur: 'Iuno Curritis, tuo curro clipeoque tuere meos curiæ vernulas.' " The discussion of the meaning of Curritis is too lengthy to be taken up here. It seems, however, a probable conclusion that Iuno Curitis was a Sabine goddess, and that in her cult at Tibur is to be seen an indication of the Sabine element of the population of the district in early times.[68] Latium had many cults of Juno. In the calendar at Tibur, as well as at Præneste, Aricia, Laurentum and Lanuvium, a month was named for Juno, where the form of the adjective was *Iunonalis* or *Iunonius*, instead of the form *Iunius* which was used in the calendar at Rome.[69]

The existence of a cult of Vesta at Tibur is shown by two inscriptions which have kept the memory of Vestal Virgins of the place. The college of *caplatores* of Tibur made a dedication to Saufeia Alexandria, a Vestal Virgin of the Tiburtines, in which her remarkable purity is celebrated (*C. I. L.*, 3677). In a second inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3679) C. Sextilius Ephebus, who was granted permission to erect a base in connection with the temple of Hercules and who, as the inscription says, had shown his munificence toward the state on other occasions, is said to be a freedman of a Vestal Virgin of the Tiburtines. The question as to whether one of the smaller temples, the ruins of which are to be seen at Tivoli, belonged to Vesta, lies outside the range of this investigation, but it can hardly be doubted that the cult of Vesta was of considerable importance at Tibur.

Without entering into the discussion of the location of ancient Æfula, it will be sufficient for the understanding of the cults of Tibur to mention the inscription to Bona Dea, which as the inscription itself records, was put up at the time of the completion of a tunnel for the Claudian Aqueduct through *Mons Æflanus*. In the year 88 A.D. the tunnel was com-

[68] Preller, *Roem. Myth.* i, p. 278 ff.; Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii, pp. 596; Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 186; cp. Festus, pp. 49 and 254: Quiritis Iuno dea Sabinorum, cui bellantes aqua et vino libabant.

[69] Ovid, *Fasti* vi, 59 ff.: Inspice quos habeat nemoralis Aricia fastos, Et populus Laurens, Lanuviumque meum. Est illic mensis Iunonius. Inspice Tibur Et Prænestinæ moenia sacrae Deae Iunonale leges tempus. Cp. Macr. *Sat.* i, 12, 30; Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.), p. 187. The letter of Symmachus (*Epis.* vii, 19) in which he accuses his friend Attalus of making Juno and Hercules equal at Tibur does not indicate any connection between the two gods. Attalus was spending his honeymoon at Tibur, and in this way was exalting Juno to a place equal to that of the leading god of the town.

pleted, and L. Paquedius Festus reërected a temple to *Bona Dea Sanctissima Coelestis* because by her help the work had been finished.[70]

Diana is honored at Tibur by two small dedications, one to Diana Opifera Nemorensis,[71] and one to Diana Cælestis (*C. I. L.*, 3536). Two Greek inscriptions on different sides of the same marble tablet are vows to Κύρια Ἄρτεμις by Paccia Secondina, one vow for herself and her daughter, the other for the safety of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Fadilla, his daughter.[72]

Among the other great divinities of the Greeks and Romans, Mars (*C. I. L.*, 3563), Neptunus Adiutor (*C. I. L.*, 3558), Venus Obsequens (*C. I. L.*, 3569), and Asclepius (*I. G.* xiv, 1125) are each represented by one inscription. The last one is in Greek, and records the dedication of an altar and temple to Asclepius, the preserver, by L. Minucius Natalis consul and proconsul, in the first part of the second century.

Among the minor deities Priapus is honored by a long and flattering inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3565) placed on a large travertine statue of the god. The dedication, which begins *Genio Numinis Priapi*, was made by a freedman of Augustus in obedience to a warning which he had received in a dream. There are two interesting dedications to deified abstractions. The brief and simple dedication to *Felicitas* (*C. I. L.*, 3538) put up by two ædiles belongs to an early period, probably to the time of Tibur's independence.[73] The second to *Mens Bona Salus*, (*C. I. L.*, 3564), a combination which Dessau says is found only in this inscription, was erected by officers of some freedman organization.[74] One inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3539) records a restoration of some sort to *Fortuna opifera* by a freedman *pro salute patris*. The organizations of *cultores Fortunæ prætoriæ* and *Cultores Domus Divinæ et Fortunæ Augustæ* mentioned in the

[70] *C. I. L.* 3530; cp. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 62. If Ashby, *Papers of the British School at Rome iii*, p. 133 ff., is correct in his identification of the site of *Mons Æflanus*, the ruins of the temple are to be seen in the seven unfluted columns of cipollino marble and fragments of other marbles on the top of Monte S. Angelo. Cp. n. 48 of Chapter I of this article.

[71] *C. I. L.* 3537; cp. Mart. vii, 28, 1; cp. for the title *opifera* probably applied to Diana, Eph. Ep. vii, 1268, a fragment found at Fidenae.

[72] *I. G.* xiv, 1124. This vow, as Kaibel suggests, may date from the illness of Fadilla recorded in *Vita Avidi Cassi*, 10, 6.

[73] See Chapter iii, first page; cp. Axtell, Chicago Univ. Diss. (1907) *Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature*, p. 29.

[74] Cp. Preller, *Roem. Myth.* ii, p. 266. See Carter, *De Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus*, Diss. Univ. of Halle, 1898, p. 37; for other dedications to Mens Bona, most of them by freedmen of slaves, cp. Axtell, *op. cit.* pp. 13 and 24.

inscriptions *C. I. L.*, 3540 and 3561 were probably burial associations, as was also the collegium mentioned in *C. I. L.*, 3659.

Among the oriental cults at Tibur that of *Magna Mater* seems to have been of some importance. An inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3534) records a dedication to Attis, here given under the peculiar name of *Attis Augustus*. The worship of Attis is never found separated from that of *Magna Mater*, and was probably not instituted before the time of the empire.[75] The connection of the Attis worship with that of the *Magna Mater* is indicated here by the fact that the dedication is made by a priest of the goddess. A second inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3562a) is a simple dedication to the Great Mother of the Gods made by a private individual at her own expense. A short poem which seems to be a metrical dedication to *Magna Mater* is included in the Poetæ Latini Minores.[76] A reference to the citadel of Tiburnus in the third distich connects the dedicator with Tibur. Another version of this same poem is found in an inscription from Bordeaux,[77] where the name of Magna Mater is replaced by that of the Celtic goddess Onuaua, but the reference to the citadel of Tiburnus is retained. Both poems are faulty in some of the verses, and it is impossible to tell which, if either, is the original. They both, however, have a clear reference to Tibur, and one of them possibly refers to the cult of Magna Mater at Tibur.

Three inscriptions[78] are dedications to Mithras, in each of which he is addressed as *Sol Invictus Mithras*. One of these inscriptions is fragmentary, but the priest which it mentions probably belonged to Mithras. Here may be noted an inscription probably sepulchral (*C. I. L.*, 3535) which consists of an epigram comparing Belenus, the Celtic sun-god, and Antinous, favorite of the emperor Hadrian, who was deified after his death.

[75] Wissowa, *R. K.* (2nd ed.) p. 326. Cp. Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, pp. 261 ff., for the beginning of the Attis worship.

[76] Poetae Latini Minores v, LXXXV, quoted from Fabricius' Antiquitates:

Magnae Matri.
Sum vagus assidue toto circumferor orbe,
Nec me diversi cogit distantia mundi
Alterius titulo subdere vota reum.
Veri certa fides Tiburni vexit in arcem
Et iam . . . . . .
Quare O diva parens . . . . .
Ausonia in terra.

[77] Carm. Ep. 871.

[78] *C. I. L.* 3566, 3567, 3568.

The Egyptian god Isis is mentioned in one inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3633). It is a fragmentary sepulchral inscription which refers to a priest of Isis who seems also to have been a *Herculaneus Augustalis*.[79]

All other gods are included in general terms in a few inscriptions. For example, Minicius, the Roman consul of 127 A.D., makes a dedication to Hercules and all the other gods, *ceteris dis* (*C. I. L.*, 3554). An inscription (*C. I. L.*, 3572) which seems to be of very early date, reads: "Sei deus, sei dea." A third is a double dedication in Latin and Greek to the good spirit (*C. I. L.*, 3533—I. G. xiv, 1123).[80]

At Tibur, as is seen, Hercules was the great god whose worship overshadowing that of all other gods probably goes back to pre-Roman times. Albunea, the Sibyl, and Tiburnus were peculiar to Tibur. The cults of Jupiter, Juno, and Vesta are well attested, and several others of the Greek and Roman gods had dedications and altars, and perhaps even temples. Of the Oriental gods Magna Mater, Mithras, and Isis were of some importance.

[79] Roscher, Lexikon under *Isis*, p. 410, says that according to F. Gori, *Arch. Stor. art. et Lett.* vol. 3, p. 335, a statue of Isis was found near Aquae Albulae. The nearness of Hadrian's villa with its Canopus and Egyptian statues suggest that this statue may have been brought from there.

[80] Another small Greek inscription, Ἠχοῦς given twice on a column, probably refers to the god Echo (*I. G.* xiv, 1126).

ADDENDUM

The following inscriptions have been found referring to the *gens Tiburtia,* and are included here as of some interest in connection with Tibur:

C. I. L. i, 574, 1213; iii, 2559; iv, 4966; v, 1941, 2708, 7009; vi, 9920, 12079, 12080, 18853, 19520, 20710, 27401-27411, 28285, 28893, 29523; viii, 2568, 3249; x, 782, 3785, 3984, 8071 (55). Eph. Ep. ix, 307 a.

The following have some reference to Tibur:

C. I. L. iv, 1569, 4657, 5518; v, 8114 (130), 8471; vi, 10237, 11067. Engstrom *C. L. E.* 157.

VITA

Ella Bourne was born in Franklin County, Indiana, December 24, 1869. She received the degree of Ph.B. from De Pauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, in 1893. During the years 1893 to 1896 she taught in the High School at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. The two years from 1896 to 1898 she spent in graduate study at the University of Michigan, receiving the degrree of Ph.M. in June of 1897. From 1899 to 1912 she was head of the Latin department of the High School at Evansville, Indiana. During the year of 1906 she was granted a half year's leave of absence, which she spent in study in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, where her work was under the direction of the late Professor H. L. Wilson of Johns Hopkins, and Professor Jesse Benedict Carter. In the fall of 1912 she entered the Johns Hopkins University for graduate work with Classical Archæology as a major, Latin, and Greek and Roman History as minors. In 1912-13 she held a graduate scholarship in Classical Archæology.

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